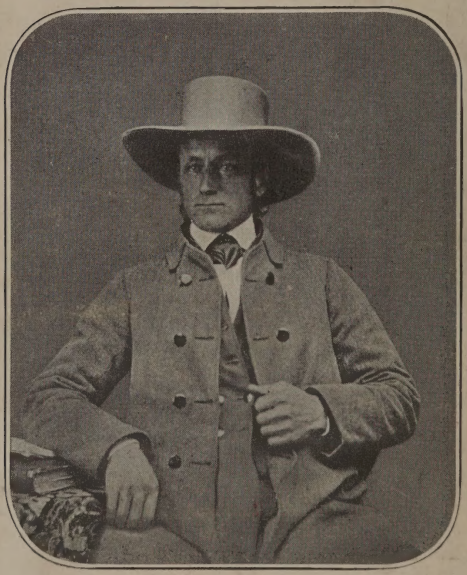
Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals

Compiled by

Clara Endicott Sears

Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals



Compiled by

Clara Endicott Sears

BRONSON ALCOTT'S FRUITLANDS

BY

CLARA ENDICOTT SEARS

Alcott's diary, Emerson's Journals, Louise Alcott's "Transcendental Wild Oats," and other widely scattered material have been brought together to make up a history of this interesting Transcendental venture — the community at Fruitlands.

Illustrated. $1.00 net.

REFERENCE LIBRARY * HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO. * BOSTON, MASS.
Archive Collection
This book may not leave the Office and if borrowed must be returned within 7 days

Books by Clara Endicott Sears

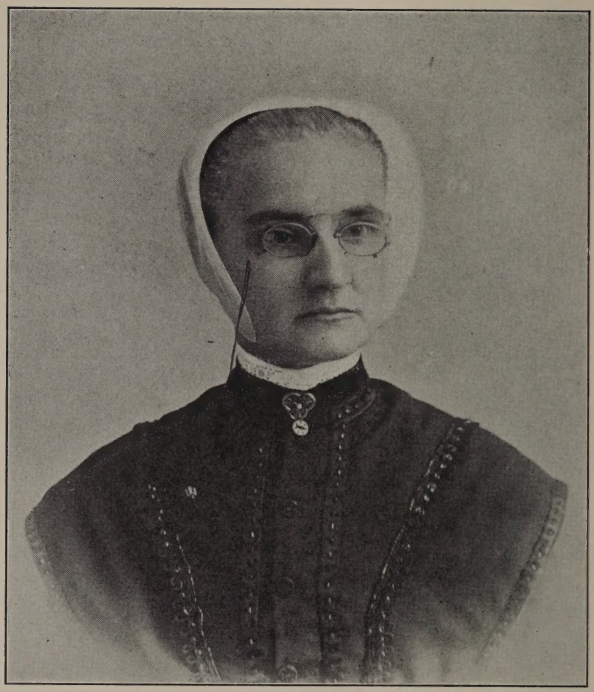
PUBLISHED BY

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

GLEANINGS FROM OLD SHAKER JOURNALS. Illustrated.

BRONSON ALCOTT'S FRUITLANDS. Illustrated.

GLEANINGS FROM OLD SHAKER JOURNALS



ELDRESS JOSEPHINE GILSON

As she was in 1896

GLEANINGS FROM OLD SHAKER JOURNALS

COMPILED BY

CLARA ENDICOTT SEARS

Author of "Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

The Riverside Press Cambridge

1916

COPYRIGHT, 1916, BY CLARA ENDICOTT SEARS

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Published October 1916

PREFACE

FROM an historical standpoint, the Shaker Village at Harvard, Massachusetts, holds a unique position among the Shaker Communities, having been the headquarters of Mother Ann Lee during that period in which she spread her gospel through the Eastern States at the end of the eighteenth century. All that happened there at that time and in the years that followed, especially up to 1853 and thereabouts, is of great psychological interest, as well as forming a chapter in our New England history that should not be allowed to fade into the Past unrecorded.

The wall of reserve and inaccessibility with which the Shakers have surrounded themselves has made it well-nigh impossible before now to penetrate beyond a certain point into the mysteries of their industrious lives, so intricately interwoven with mysticism and the practice of almost perpetual adoration. But the old antagonism between them and "the world" has long since died away, and the religious excesses of the old days which caused such panic of fear and superstition would be as foreign to the modern Shakers as they would be to any outside of their faith. In the towns surrounding their villages they are regarded as peaceful, honest citizens, and are held in affectionate esteem.

CLARA ENDICOTT SEARS

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION xi

I. SHADRACK IRELAND AND THE SQUARE HOUSE . . 1

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE SHAKERS 5

III. ANN LEE 9

IV. THE VOYAGE AND LANDING 16

V. THE SETTLEMENT IN THE WILDERNESS . . . 20

VI. MOTHER ANN TELLS OF HER SUFFERINGS . . . 25

VII. SOWING THE SEED 32

VIII. THE ARRIVAL AT THE SQUARE HOUSE 36

IX. MOTHER ANN'S MINISTRATION 44

X. HOW JEMIMA BLANCHARD BECAME A SHAKER SISTER . 50

XI. HARVARD HOSTILITY TO THE SHAKERS 59

XII. DESCRIBING THE APPEARANCE OF MOTHER ANN, FATHER WILLIAM, AND FATHER JAMES . . . 64

XIII. THE JOURNEY TO ENFIELD AND BACK 72

XIV. DRIVING THE OUT-OF-TOWN SHAKERS FROM HARVARD 80

XV. VISIT TO THE HARVARD SHAKERS IN 1782 BY GOVERNOR PLUMMER OF NEW HAMPSHIRE 92

XVI. A RESPITE AT THE SQUARE HOUSE 96

XVII. THE MOB AT ELIJAH WILDS'S 105

XVIII. THE FINAL EXIT FROM HARVARD 115

XIX. The Last Days 149
XX. Father James's Short Ministry and Early Death 159
XXI. The Vindication of Mother Ann's Character 167
XXII. The Gathering of the Church at Harvard . 176
XXIII. The Revival of 1807 187
XXIV. The Wave of Mystic Symbolism 199
XXV. The Harvard Shaker Industries 222
XXVI. The Herb Department 249
XXVII. Manners and Customs 257
XXVIII. The Philosophers at Fruitlands and the Shakers 262
XXIX. Harvard Recollections 273
XXX. Who was Leoline? 278
Conclusion 287
Appendix 291

ILLUSTRATIONS

ELDRESS JOSEPHINE GILSON AS SHE WAS IN 1896 . *Frontispiece*

A LITTLE BAND OF THE FAITHFUL LEAVING THE SHAKER MEETING-HOUSE ON THE SABBATH IN 1916 xii

THE SQUARE HOUSE, BUILT IN 1769 2

ISAAC WILLARD'S HOUSE, WHERE MOTHER ANN AND THE ELDERS STOPPED ON THEIR WAY TO THE SQUARE HOUSE . 38

THE HOUSE OF THADDEUS POLLARD, SHOWING THE TREE TO WHICH THE MOB TIED ABIJAH WORSTER 90

ELIJAH WILDS'S HOUSE AT SHIRLEY, WHERE THE MOB ATTACKED THE SHAKERS 106

THE MARBLE SHAFT IN THE WOODS BORDERING THE HIGHWAY WHERE FATHER JAMES AND FATHER WILLIAM WERE BEATEN 110

THE SHAKER VILLAGE AT HARVARD, MASS. 178

THE SACRED DANCE (WITH UPTURNED PALMS) 182

THE SACRED DANCE (SHAKING THE HANDS) 192

ELDRESS MARIA FOSTER 200

THE SACRED WHIRLING DANCE WHICH INDUCED THE GIFT OF PROPHECY WHEN THE DANCER FELL IN A TRANCE . . . 204

THE AVENUE LEADING TO THE HOLY HILL OF ZION AT THE SHAKER VILLAGE, HARVARD 208

THE SACRED DANCE ON THE HOLY HILL OF ZION . . 212

THE MEN'S SHOP 222

THE STONE BARN 222

The Old Mill at the Shaker Village, where the Spools, Broom Handles, Sieve Rims, etc., were made . . 226
Eldress Olive Hatch 230
All that remains of the Place of Worship on the Holy Hill of Zion at Harvard Shaker Village 234
A Group of Young Believers 238
Elder John Orsment, Jr. 240
Elder Elijah Myrick in his Youth 240
Eldress Eliza Babbitt 242
Elder Ezra Newton 244
Elder Simon T. Atherton 244
The Schoolhouse 250
The Herb House 250
Shaker Sisters Labelling Herbs 254
The Home of the South Family of Shakers at Harvard . 264
The Shaker Meeting-House at Harvard 264
Elder Elijah Myrick 274
Elder Giles Avery, of Mt. Lebanon, N.Y. . . . 274
Augustus Grosvenor 276
Is this "Leoline"? 280
Eldress Josephine Gilson in 1916 286
Eldress Louisa Green 292
Eldress Ellen Green 292
The Shaker Burying-Ground at Harvard 294
Eldress Annie Walker 296
Sister Annie Bell Tuttle 296

INTRODUCTION

It has been my great privilege to be counted as a friend among the Shakers in the old township of Harvard, in Massachusetts, which crowns the uplands overlooking the broad valley of the Nashua.

A little band of loyal souls still keep the candle of their faith burning in their secluded village, far removed from the outside world, like a shrine hidden in a sanctuary of hilly woodlands.

Silence broods in the place and marks it for meditation. Each year one or two, long past the allotted age, fall quietly asleep in the Lord, and are placed gently and by loving hands among the brethren and sisters, lying in even rows in the old graveyard under the ancient pine trees. Eldresses Annie Walker, "Louysie" Green, and Ellen Green have joined them now, and sleep there side by side. Pansies and sweet alyssum and for-get-me-nots grow out of the sods that cover them. Their lives were pure like the flowers. May their rest be very sweet!

But among those who are left is one whose vital mind reaches to far horizons. With a clearness of vision unsullied by the desires of the world, she looks back into the Past and out into the Future with keen, intuitive perception.

Many a quiet hour I have passed with her in the sombre twilight of the old sitting-room, where the portraits of deceased Elders, Simon Atherton and Elijah

Myrick, look down from one wall, and those of Eldress Olive Hatch and Eliza Babbitt look down from the other, while, hesitatingly at first, but with increasing confidence, I was permitted to pore over cherished records of the past, and worn-out journals, and touching books of verses, — outpourings from hearts long since laid at rest. These are kept in hidden cupboards where the curious cannot find them.

And while I read the faded pages, odd fantasies would seize me. The quiet of the place seemed charged with strange vibrations. Out from the Past I seemed to hear the shouts of triumph and the songs of praise of the "Believers"; and hurrying footsteps creaked the floors — the place was peopled with a host of brethren and sisters whirling in the ecstasy of their strange worship.

And then another sound would reach me — ominous and threatening. Oaths and curses rent the air — the mob had come; had reached the door, mad with antagonism and venom. Stones and missiles shot through window panes, and cries and imprecations followed them. But high above the tumult rang the songs of Zion, challenging and triumphant. Out through the woods and over the fertile meadows echoed the hymns of Glory. And then a veil would cover the Past again with its mysterious folds; silence returned — heavier than before.

"Eldress," said I, looking up from the pages, "where has the fervor gone, and all the ardor and enthusiasm, and all the spiritual fire that swayed these men and women? The wind of the Spirit has swept through this place and borne the soul of it away on its wings. Only

A LITTLE BAND OF THE FAITHFUL LEAVING THE SHAKER MEETING HOUSE ON THE SABBATH IN 1916

the outer shell of what was here remains to designate the spot through which it passed."

"Yea, oh, yea," she replied musingly; "what you say is true. . . . And times have changed. . . . And life is looked at from a different angle. But nothing that has gone before is lost. The Spirit has its periods of moving beneath the surface, and after generations pass, it sweeps through the world again and burns the chaff and stubble."

"And who would dream in passing through these country roads," I said, "that every inch could tell its tale of thrilling history? — persecution and suffering first, and then the years of great prosperity; and finally a handful left to close the chapter! As years went by, Eldress, the people grew to love the Shakers."

"They were good men and good women," she answered simply.

HARVARD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1916

GLEANINGS FROM OLD SHAKER JOURNALS

I

SHADRACK IRELAND AND THE SQUARE HOUSE

SOME localities seem to possess a mysterious and compelling attraction for certain waves of thought — and to them are drawn those people whose minds are tuned to the same vibrations. It must be some such hidden law that has caused lovers of secluded communities to settle along the high ridges that rise from the valley through which the Nashua flows like a silver ribbon, wending its way through green meadow-lands, hiding in places behind the dark pine forests, and flashing out beyond, to disappear again and reappear alternately, as the eye follows its course northward. Across the expanse of intervale rises the chain of distant mountains, and toward these the eyes of many dreamers have turned for inspiration and meditation.

Shadrack Ireland brought his strange religion there first, closely followed by the Shakers; then Bronson Alcott and his English Mystics created their New Eden at Fruitlands, two miles distant; while eight or ten miles farther north the Millerites, or Second Adventists, chose a spot from which to ascend to Heaven when the sound of the last trump should rend the air. All the aspirations that have surged from the hearts of these

searchers after the Ideal seem to linger still about the place, just as the scent of roses long since faded will linger on in a deserted room.

A mile and a half from the village green of Harvard, the Shakers live their peaceful lives in a complete seclusion. Many acres of rich soil and growing timberlands surround the little village street, once filled with the "Believers," but now a silent place, left dreaming of the past and heedless of the future.

All is at a standstill there. The rush of modern times has proved too quick a pace for it to follow, and so has left it stranded, to complete its days in quiet retrospection. The fine old maple trees have grown so large and leafy that the shadows give a cool green depth to half the picture. It is a place of dreams.

The Square House heads the village street, and guards it like a sentinel. It had a strange, uncanny history before the Shakers came, and since that time has been the scene of many wonderful experiences.

When Shadrack Ireland's followers built the house, the woods were thick around it, and here he lived a hidden life, with his soul-mate, Abigail Lougee.

Now, Shadrack had been a New Light preacher, so they say, and was a strange, secretive man, and full of fancies. He came from Charlestown, where he left a wife and several children, and whether he feared they would turn up some day, or act in other inconsiderate ways, is not recorded, but the fact remains that he was guarded with the utmost secrecy. His days were passed in keeping watch from the cupola that then surmounted the roof. He reached it by a secret staircase, up which was

THE SQUARE HOUSE, BUILT IN 1769

drawn a string with a bell attached, to warn him of intruders. Near by, upon the hill, a place of ragged boulders served as a meeting-place where he could hold converse with his followers, and still keep up his vigil. The striking feature of his religion was his claim to an immortal body. He warned his people that they must not bury him should his soul depart from it, because it surely would reënter it again. And so it happened that one night he was seized with violent pain and died. An old Shaker manuscript gives the account of it thus: —

"The night he died he walked the floor in great distress of mind and groaning with deep groans. He said, 'I feel the wrath of God.' . . . Abigail Lougee called Abigail Cooper to get up and light a light. They got a light as quick as they could, but he was gone when they got to him, as I understand."

They watched him day and night with deepening agitation. He lay there cold and stark, and gave no sign of a return to life. They feared it might become known that this dread thing had happened, so they barred the house from wayfarers, and all took turns and watched. More days and nights went by, and now in consternation one by one, unable to bear it longer, fled from the room. The aforesaid manuscript will tell the rest: —

"He finally was put in a coffin, and the coffin bricked around at the West end of the Square House cellar, near the South side, and remained there several months probably, — and finally Abijah Worcester helped bury

him in the night, somewhere in a South east course, or Southerly from the wash house. They took up some hills of corn, dug a grave and buried him, then set out the corn again so as not to have it discovered where the grave was. I suppose David Hoar helped Abijah bury him.

"Ireland did considerable work in the finishing of the Square House. The stair banister and railings are without doubt his work. He was a good workman, — a kind of cabinet maker or joiner. He began quite zealous, — had much of the Spirit for his day when he began, and probably meant to go pretty correct.

"One time in Mother Ann's[1] day she had the people get up in the night and go into the labors or dance in meeting, because Shadrack Ireland's spirit was there and brought such darkness. It brought such distress upon Mother, that she felt as though she must have the people assembled and go into the works of God."[2]

So ended the first experience of the Square House which was to hold so important a position in the history of the United Society of Believers (commonly called Shakers) in Harvard, Massachusetts.

[1] The founder of the Shaker religion.

[2] "Amos Buttrick being in meeting at Watervliet, and there being quite a heft of death and darkness in meeting, Mother Ann came down out of the chamber, and told the people to labor for the power of God, 'for,' said Mother Ann, 'there are the darkest spirits here that I ever sensed, — Shadrack Ireland is here, — he began in the spirit and ended in the most total darkness of the flesh.'"

"Brother Abel Jewett says that Molly Lyon said the Square House was raised not a week from the time her first child was born, August 12, 1769." (Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.)

II

THE ORIGIN OF THE SHAKERS

In order to have some sort of understanding of the contents of this book, the origin of the United Society of Believers, otherwise known as Shakers, must be explained; for this strange sect did not start into being suddenly, but was an outcome of the religious history of the latter part of the seventeenth century. As far back as 1685, when Louis XIV of France revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had given religious liberty to the Protestants, he plunged the country again into the throes of persecution and bloodshed. As a result of this injustice, there arose a sect of fanatics in the provinces of Dauphiné and Rivarais, known as the "Camisards," or French Prophets. Jean Cavalier, a young baker, was their leader, and so inspiring was his leadership that in 1688 five or six hundred Protestants, both men and women, caught the fire of his enthusiasm, and followed him through the country prophesying the near approach of God's Kingdom on earth. The burden of their cry was, "Amend your lives, repent ye, the end of all things is nigh." In their worship they were strangely affected with paroxysms that resembled fits. They beat the air with their arms, and writhed with horrible contortions, until a faintness came over them which developed into a trance-like condition, and falling to the ground they lay there as if dead. When consciousness returned, they

were seized with violent tremblings and twitchings — crying to the Almighty for mercy for themselves and for mankind. As the bodily agitation diminished, they began to prophesy — claiming to hear the commands issuing forth from God. They also claimed the gift of speaking in unknown tongues; of performing miracles; of healing the sick, and of clairvoyance. Apprehensive of the powerful influence which these people were exercising wherever they went, the Government initiated a course of brutal persecution aginst them. In 1702 a number of the Camisards were put to death, and three years later a series of inhuman massacres occurred, ending in the burning at the stake of three of the most prominent prophets, while two others were broken on the wheel.

Jean Cavalier with two or three followers managed to escape to England. Here they held meetings in and about London, with the result that before the end of the year 1705, three or four hundred prophets were stirring England as they had France with the warning that "the acceptable year of the Lord" was at hand. As these people had no especial creed and no established place of worship, the effect of their prophecies finally began to decrease in strength, and the flame of their enthusiasm flickered intermittently until the year 1747, when James Wardley and his wife Jane, both Quakers, became imbued with this prophetic spirit, and leaving the Society of Friends (the real name of the Quakers) they devoted themselves to interpreting the visions which came to them, with the result that a new and definite prophecy was put forth announcing the second appearing of Christ as being close at hand. At this time they lived in

Bolton, but they moved to Manchester and lived for a number of years in the house of one John Townley on Canon Street, and here they formed a society which at first numbered about thirty people.

"In their worship they would sit in silent meditation for a while, when they were taken with a mighty trembling under which they would express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times they were affected, under the power of God, with a mighty shaking; and were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor under the influence of spiritual signs, or swiftly passing and repassing each other, like clouds agitated by a mighty wind."

From these strange exercises the people received the name of "Shakers," and by some were called "Shaking Quakers."

"The work which God promised to accomplish in the latter day, was eminently marked out by the Prophets to be a work of *shaking*. Thus the Lord promised that he would *shake* the earth with terror (Lowth's translation of Isa. II, 19–21); that in that day there should be a great *shaking* in the land of Israel (Ezek. XXXVIII, 19–20); that he would *shake* the heavens and earth (Isa. XIII, 13; Joel III, 16; Hag. II, 6, 7, 21); that he would *shake* all nations, and that the *Desire of all nations* should come; and according to the apostle (Heb. XII, 26) that *yet once more*, he would *shake* not the earth only, but also the heavens — signifying the removing of things

that are *shaken* as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain." [1]

It was the firm conviction of James and Jane Wardley and their followers that the Christ Spirit, which had manifested itself through the personality of Jesus of Nazareth, would again appear on this earth, but this time it would be through that of a woman. Their argument was that God being Eternal Spirit, and permeating all life, must combine within Himself all the positive or masculine qualities of Power, Justice, Truth, Knowledge, and Might, and the negative or feminine qualities of Mercy, Loving-kindness, and Forgiveness as well, and that as He had revealed his spirit through Man, so He must also reveal it through Woman, in order to complete the full revelation of his Divine Nature. With this expectation firmly established, they eagerly awaited its fulfilment, and they believed that they found the fulfilment complete in the personality of Ann Lee who united herself to the Society in 1758.

[1] *The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing.* (1810.)

III

ANN LEE

ANN LEE came of humble birth. She was the daughter of John Lee, a blacksmith living in Manchester, England, and during her childhood she passed her days working in a cotton factory, preparing cotton for the looms. There was no time or opportunity for any schooling; therefore, though industrious and efficient in her work she grew up without knowing how even to read or write. She was a strange child, subject to extraordinary spiritual experiences — visions and prophetic dreams were her constant companions, and her mind dwelt continually on the wickedness of human nature. Children who work in factories in manufacturing towns learn of the worst side of life at a very early age, and Ann's oversensitive and morbid tendencies developed abnormally. She would frequently cry herself to sleep, or lie awake shivering with the fear of God's wrath, and would go to her work in the morning unrefreshed from her night's rest. Her father had no patience with her. Her mother, however, was what was then termed a "strictly religious and very pious woman," and she protected her from his anger. But that was not for long, for she died leaving Ann motherless at a very early age.

As Ann grew older she was employed as a cutter of hatter's fur, and the daily life she saw around her was of the most sordid and depressing kind. Marriage repelled

her, and she shrank from any suggestion of it. But no one had patience with this point of view — her father least of all; and so against her inclinations she was married to a young blacksmith named Abraham Stanley, and they lived together in her father's house. Her four children died in infancy, and this she took as a retribution for having succumbed to the dictates of the world. All her old fears and the consciousness of the sin around her came back with redoubled force, which at length brought her under excessive tribulation of soul, and for a season she was possessed with great mental suffering, and with no mortal guide to lead her in the way of truth.

It was under these conditions that she sought the spiritual protection of James and Jane Wardley. It seemed to her that these people possessed a greater degree of Divine Light and understanding than any that she had ever heard of. The great features of their doctrine were the open confession of sin, and the taking up a daily cross against all evil and all the desires that belong to the world. To her suffering mind these acted as oil that is cast upon troubled waters, and "by her faithful obedience to the instruction of her Leaders, she attained to the full knowledge and experience in spiritual things which they had found."[1] This brought her a sense of peace for a time, but the desire to attain an even greater spiritual understanding took such hold upon her that she could find no rest.

"In watchings, fastings, fears, and incessant cries to God, she labored day and night for deliverance from the

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)

very nature of sin. And under the most severe tribulation of mind and the most violent temptations and buffetings of the enemy, she was often in such extreme agony of soul as caused the blood to perspire through the pores of her skin.

"Sometimes for whole nights together, her cries, screeches and groans were such as to fill every soul around her with fear and trembling."[1]

For nine years Ann went through periods of agony of mind with intervals of great peace, when visions and revelations would come to her in such vivid detail that the attention of James and Jane Wardley and their followers became centred upon her, with a growing conviction that her spiritual nature was developed to a degree far exceeding any that had been revealed up to that time. During these years of spiritual experiences her intuitive faculties grew apace. She studied human nature in all its phases with such close attention that she developed the faculty of reading the thoughts and searching the hearts of those about her so unerringly as to cause consternation and fear. Tales of her miraculous insight and her soul-stirring visions were noised abroad, and became the subject of much inquiry. At this time she was thirty-two years of age, straight and regular in form and feature, with expressive eyes that were keen and penetrating. All the accounts of her lay stress on the remarkable power of her eyes.

Now up to this time the Society had held its meetings

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)

unmolested by the outside world, but now it took a more aggressive and definite stand. The Shakers denounced what they called "the abominable creeds of religion that had foisted themselves upon a suffering people."[1] They proclaimed with renewed emphasis the second coming of Christ, and prophesied the downfall of the Anti-Christ, who they declared was being worshipped throughout the land. Their meetings became more open and unrestrained, and excited public attention to such a degree that protestations were heard on every side, and soon mobs collected with the avowed purpose of suppressing these "heretics." Many times Ann Lee and her associates were arrested and thrown into prison. On one occasion, about the year 1770, an especially ardent meeting was being held at her father's house, when it was surrounded by an excited mob, who dragged her out and cast her into the dungeon of the prison at Manchester. The next morning she was hurried to another prison, a madhouse, called "Bedlam," and here she was locked into a dark stone cell, so small that she could not recline at full length. It was during her incarceration in this terrible place that she had her greatest spiritual experience. She declared that after crying out in agony of spirit to be shown the solution of this life of temptation and sin and acute suffering, she was rewarded with a vision of such transcendent beauty and dazzling purity that she fell upon her knees, her eyes blinded by the supernatural radiance. The conviction was borne in upon her then, she said, that the life of the celibate was the acceptable one, and the taking up of the cross against

[1] *The Shakers.* (East Canterbury, 1893.)

the world and the flesh was the only way of regeneration and of changing the "Children of Darkness" into "Children of Light." This belief became fixed and definite in her mind.

It had been the plan of the warden of the prison to see that Ann should die of hunger in her narrow cell and so cease to trouble the public, and to this end no food was taken to her for fourteen days, and during that time her door was never opened. But there was a young lad whom she had adopted, named James Whittaker, and he, with the devotion of youth, watched day and night outside the prison wall. He managed dexterously to evade the jailer a number of times, and stealing through the dark corridors to the door of Ann's cell, he inserted the stem of a pipe into the key-hole, pouring milk mixed with a little wine into the bowl, so that she was able to drink enough of it to keep her alive.

When the two weeks had passed, and her sentence was ended, the warden and jailer, confident of finding her dead, opened the cell door. To their terror and amazement she stood erect before them, and crossing the threshold, made her way with a firm and steady step that showed no sign of weakness to the entrance of the prison, where some of her faithful associates were awaiting her, and with them she passed out of sight. This occurrence was whispered abroad by the jailers, a superstitious awe having seized them, and many rumors concerning her occult power became current and aggravated the hostility of the public which was already becoming exceedingly ominous.

Now this new conviction of Ann Lee's changed the

whole tenor of her mind. Whereas before she was prone to weep and lament over her sins and those of the world about her, she now became filled with a supreme joy. She related her prison experience — the revelation she claimed to have received and the attendant heavenly vision — to James and Jane Wardley and their followers. They listened with a rapt attention which soon became fraught with overpowering exaltation, and with loud rejoicings they declared that the hand of God pointed to her as His anointed Daughter into whom the Christ Spirit had entered, and they acknowledged her then and there as the Divine Mother for whom they had waited so long — asserting that now, through Woman, the second coming of Christ was fulfilled.

After this she was known as Mother Ann Lee, and her followers looked to her for spiritual guidance and her word became their law.

"I am Ann the Word," she affirmed, signifying that in her dwelt the "Word." [1]

"After Ann was received and acknowledged as the spiritual Mother and leader of the Society, the manner of worship and the exercises in their public assemblies were singing and dancing, shaking and shouting, speaking with new tongues and prophesying, with all those various gifts of the Holy Ghost known in the primitive Church." [2]

It was soon after this that another vision came to her. This time she saw a little village in a far-off land, and

[1] *The Testimonies of Christ's Second Appearing.* (1810.)
[2] *Ibid.*

many faces of men and women as yet unknown to her, looking toward her in expectation. Life was becoming very burdensome to the Shakers in England. Persecution and hatred were meted out to them in full measure, and Mother Ann became convinced that this new vision was a call to a distant land where they could worship in peace and security, and seriously begin to spread the gospel of regeneration.

Accordingly, as many as were able to follow her sailed on the ship Mariah in the month of May, 1774, bound for America. The little band of followers included her husband, Abraham Stanley (who then professed the same faith), James Whittaker, her brother William Lee, John Hocknell and his son, Richard Hocknell, James Shepherd, Mary Partington, and Nancy Lee, a niece of Mother Ann.

That summer James and Jane Wardley moved from John Townsley's house on Canon Street into a hired house. But the departure of Mother Ann left them unequal to meeting successfully the antagonism of the public in England. Nothing prospered with them from this time on, and finally they were removed to the almshouse, where they died. Those of the Society who were left, being without a leader, soon lost heart, and returned to "the world."

IV

THE VOYAGE AND LANDING

A FEELING of intense relief came over Mother Ann and her faithful followers when the good ship Mariah slipped her moorings and made for the open sea. Worn out as they were with the strain and stress of constant persecution from those of the Orthodox faith in England, they turned their faces with joy and hope toward the far-away shores of the American colonies, where freedom of religious thought, so they were told, was the acknowledged right of all men and one of the corner-stones upon which the government of the country was to be built. In the exuberance of joyful anticipation they marched the deck, shouting exultantly, and dancing and shaking according to their strange manner of worship. Captain Smith, who commanded the vessel, was filled with amazement at the sight of their actions, which seemed to him unseemly as well as incomprehensible. He ordered them to stop at once, and when they paid no heed, but continued to respond to the dictates of the Spirit when it moved them to worship according to their custom, he was full of wrath and threatened to put them in irons, and if necessary to cast them into the sea.

Before his threat could be carried out, however, a shout of warning came from below that the ship had sprung a leak. A sudden storm of wind and rain struck her, and now the waves rose dark and mountainous on every

side, and she struggled bravely to ride them as they broke across her deck. All was confusion and terror. The crew sprang to the pumps, while the captain ran to and fro directing them. Mother Ann, clinging to a rope and steadying herself as best she could against the violence of the wind, stood looking aft with searching and dilating eyes; her gaze was seen to become tense and rapt. Suddenly she turned, and hurrying to the captain's side she announced that she had had a vision of two angels standing at the helm, therefore, he must tell the crew that the ship was in charge of heavenly pilots and would sail its course in safety. Comforted by this announcement, all hands worked with greater courage and precision. The cause of the leak was found to be the starting of a plank which they succeeded in making secure, and they proceeded on their voyage with thankful hearts. From this time on no further opposition was made to the Shakers. They worshipped without interference, and finally on August 6, 1774, the Mariah sailed into the harbor of New York.

When they landed they found the colonies on the edge of revolution. Not knowing where to go, they took counsel together, and having no means of subsistence they deemed it best to separate and seek employment wherever they could find it, promising one another to join forces again as soon as they were able to accumulate a little ready cash, and then they would lose no time in starting their great work of regeneration.

Most of the little band found work in and around Albany. William Lee, being a blacksmith by trade, had no great difficulty in getting started. James Whittaker,

being a weaver, also found employment. Mother Ann remained in New York and tried to find work in washing and ironing, while her husband, Abraham Stanley, went into a blacksmith shop.

In the mean time John Hocknell, who was the only one of them who had any property, went up the river, and invested in a tract of land in a place called Niskayuna, near Albany, with the purpose of eventually making a home there where they could carry out their plans in safety. He then went back to England, and brought over his family to help him in this work of preparation.

Mother Ann's experiences during the following year were both painful and disheartening. The following account[1] will give some idea of the hardships she endured: —

"Mother Ann was evidently destined to drink deeply of the cup of affliction and suffering, before her testimony could be opened and received in America. Her labor and travail of soul for the opening of the gospel was often so great as to banish all other concerns. Hence poverty, privation, and hunger were her frequent companions; — and hence, she was often left destitute of all earthly friends.

"At one particular time she was reduced to such necessity, that her only shelter from the inclemency of the winter was a small uncomfortable room, without bed or bedding, or any other furniture than a cold stone for a seat, and her only morsel was a cruse of vinegar, and

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)

as she afterwards testified, she sat down upon the stone, without any fire, sipped her vinegar, and wept."

To add to her desperate situation Abraham Stanley was taken with a severe illness, and night and day she was obliged to care for him, not knowing where to turn for the necessary food to keep them alive.

At length, when her husband had recovered, Mother Ann found herself face to face with a new situation. As his strength returned, he began to walk the streets, and soon he made friends with some men whose religious views, if they had any, were directly opposed to the faith he had adopted, and this influence led him to cast aside his Shaker principles, and one day, on returning to the poverty-stricken home that sheltered them, he announced to her that she must return to live with him as his wife, or he should leave her then and there, to fare as best she could alone. Ann bade him leave her, saying that God would protect her — and she never saw him again. And now she was thrown entirely upon her own resources. Fortunately she sought work of a good, kindly woman who lived on Green Street (afterwards Pearl Street) and by her she was treated with consideration. Then the clouds began to lift for her, and on Christmas Day, 1775, John Hocknell and his family came to New York in search of her, and when they had found her they took her to Niskayuna, which was afterwards named Watervliet. Here her followers gathered around her, and started preparations for the great work they had in hand.

V

THE SETTLEMENT IN THE WILDERNESS

NISKAYUNA was then a wilderness. The Shakers made a clearing in the deep woods and there they built themselves some rough log cabins, and the brethren set to work industriously to till the ground and plant the crops and make themselves independent. Here they could worship without fear of being molested, and great was their joy at the prospect of imparting their principles to what they deemed to be a sinful and wicked world. But as time went on and no one joined their ranks, doubts of ever being able to preach their gospel assailed them. Mother Ann alone never swerved in her faith. She gave them strength and encouragement to wait for the right time to come.

"O my dear children," she would say, "hold fast and be not discouraged. God has not sent us to bring the gospel to this land in vain, but He has sent us to bring the gospel to this nation which is deeply lost in sin; and there are great numbers who will embrace it, and the time draws nigh." Elder William Lee then asked Mother, "Do you believe the gospel will ever open to the world?" Mother replied, "Yea, Brother William, I certainly know it will, and the time is near at hand when they will come like doves." William replied, "Mother, you have often told us so, but it does not

come yet." Mother said, "Be patient, be patient, O my dear children, for I can see great numbers coming now, and you will soon see them coming in great numbers." And while they were thus downcast, "Mother came out and led them into the forest west of their dwelling, where, by the ministrations of the power and gifts of God, through Mother, they had a very joyful meeting, and praised God in songs and dances." [1]

The winter following, in 1779, Mother Ann had many visions, and gave out prophecies that renewed the faith of the Shakers in their mission. After coming out of a trance on one occasion she said: "I see great numbers of people come and believe the gospel; I see great men come and bow down their heads and confess their sins." [2] In the spring these prophecies came true. In the town of New Lebanon in the month of March a great revival took place. It was of a spiritualistic nature, and the meetings resounded with loud cries to God — some crying for mercy, while others gave vent to overpowering joy, filled with the conviction that the commencement of the Kingdom of Christ was at hand which would put an end to wars and fighting, and peace and harmony would at last reign on the earth. Many revelations were given through mediums, who walked about in a trance condition imparting messages from the spirit world. As these people had no leader, and as nothing seemed to come out of their prophecies, the excitement had begun to wane, when they heard of the settlement

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)
[2] *Ibid.*

of Shakers in the woods of Niskayuna. Consequently a large band of people, including old and young, made their way there, and to them Mother Ann expounded the strange religion of which she was the head, and initiated them in the mysteries of their symbolic form of worship. Deeply impressed, they confessed their sins, and believed Mother Ann to be filled with the Christ Spirit, embodying the second appearance on earth. So the little Society began to increase in great numbers, many coming from far and near; and thus Shakerism became a fixed institution in America, and was the very first Communistic Society established here.

Stories of this peculiar sect passed from mouth to mouth, and soon the authorities began to make investigations. By some Mother Ann was strongly suspected of witchcraft, and the old accusation was in substance revived, "She casteth out devils by Beelzebub." It being a time of great suspicion regarding all comparatively newcomers to the country, they were arraigned before the Commissioners at Albany, and told to take the oath of allegiance. To swear in any way was against the Shaker principles, and this they explained as best they could, but it only gave credence to the rumors that they were enemies of the country, it being well known that they denounced as sin war and all fighting or shedding of blood; therefore the entire board of Elders, and Mother Ann as well, were put in prison, where they were kept for six months. At the end of that time, however, they were all set at liberty by the Governor of New York, and returning to Niskayuna they found that those who had been left there had

worked faithfully and well — many more converts having been brought into the Society, and all seemed to be prospering.

There is a curious account in an old Shaker pamphlet of a visit made to the Shakers in the forests of Niskayuna by the Marquis de Lafayette while he was in the service of General Washington. It runs thus: —

"Lafayette, in company with another officer in regimental dress, entered very quietly the building where one of their devotional meetings was in progress. The one among the brethren most eccentrically exercised was Abijah Worcester. His outward manifestations were of a very curious type. He was under a spell of singular violent agitations; jerking, shaking, and suddenly twisting in convulsions, in a most remarkable manner. Lafayette's tall and manly form arose in the seat he occupied near the door, and he passed down directly to the front of the congregation and seated himself by Abijah's side, and fastened his eyes upon him most intensely, and as Abijah felt moved upon by the spirits to go into convulsions, Lafayette would reach out his arm and lay his hand upon the subject under agitation. This disconcerted Abijah not a little, and he began to feel the presence of the distinguished visitor with some alarm. Finally, with much effort, he gasped, "You seem desirous of obtaining this power." But the reply he received in a calm, clear voice, "It is desirable," so worked upon Abijah that he suddenly arose and ran out of the door, followed as suddenly by General Lafayette, who kept close by his side. To break the connection, Abijah

hurried to the barn, but with his silent investigator close upon his heels. To make a show that he had business there, Abijah seized a broom and commenced a most vigorous sweeping of the floor, but there stood his inquisitorial friend, waiting patiently to see what the next move would be. Abijah, in dismay, started for the house; as quickly in his footsteps was he who stuck to him closer than a brother. Almost vanquished, Abijah lifted the hatchway and rushed into the cellar; but lo! Lafayette was there also. In great confusion Abijah rallied for one more effort, and grasping a rude ladder started to ascend to the floor above, but close upon the rounds was the unrelenting Lafayette, with a determination to learn what power or impulse controlled the man who was possessed with such strange actions. The opening in the floor led to the room in which were assembled Mother Ann and the Elders. Then for the first time Lafayette found voice enough eagerly to ask of them what manner of man he had encountered, and what was the nature of his malady? He was informed that it was wholly of a religious type, and that such dwelt among them. The tenet of their religion was then explained to him, when he enquired to know why he could not share it as well as others; but Mother Ann informed him that his mission was of the world, and on the great earth plane before him; that in the soldier life which he had chosen, he had a work to do of vast importance, as in the success of the patriotic arms that of the freedom of the populace depended." [1]

[1] Pamphlet, *The Shakers.* (East Canterbury.)

VI

MOTHER ANN TELLS OF HER SUFFERINGS

AFTER Mother Ann came from the jail at Poughkeepsie she talked to her followers a great deal on the subject of giving proof of one's faith, and of suffering, if need be, in order to prove loyalty to a cause. One day Mehetable Farrington, and some others, induced her to tell them of her experiences in England, and the persecutions she was subjected to.

"I suffered great persecutions in England," she told them, "on account of my faith. Sometimes the power of God operated so mightily upon me, that numbers would try to hold me still; but the more they tried to withstand the power of God, the more I was operated upon.

"One of my brothers, being greatly enraged, said he was determined to overcome me. So he brought a staff about the size of a large broom handle, and came to me while I was sitting in my chair, and singing by the power of God. He spoke to me, but I felt no liberty to answer. 'Will you not answer me?' said he. He then beat me over my face and nose with his staff till one end of it was very much splintered. But I sensibly felt, and saw, the bright rays of the glory of God pass between my face and his staff, which shielded off the blows, so that I did but just feel them. He continued

beating till he was so far spent that he had to stop and call for drink. While he was refreshing himself I cried to God for his healing power. He then turned the other end of his staff and began to beat me again. While he continued striking, I felt my breath like healing balsam streaming from my mouth and nose, which healed me, so that I felt no harm from his strokes; but he was out of breath, like one who had been running a race."

Mother Ann related this same occurrence to Phebe Spencer and others.

Mother Ann told Mehetable of another experience which she had.

"When I lived in England," she said, "there arose a great mob against me, and determined to put an end to my existence. They took me into the highroad and ordered me to advance. In submission to their order I made the attempt, but was soon knocked down with clubs, and after I got up and began to walk, I was kicked every few steps nearly two miles. I then felt as if I should faint with thirst, and was almost ready to give up the ghost, by reason of the cruel abuses which I received from my riotous enemies. While I was suffering from the merciless mob, not one friend was allowed to follow me. But God in mercy remembered me, and sent a man who was instrumental in my deliverance. A certain nobleman, living at some distance, who knew nothing of what was passing, was remarkably wrought upon in his mind, and urged by his feelings to go, but where,

and for what cause he did not know. But he ordered his servant to fetch his horse immediately. The servant went in haste, but the anxiety of the nobleman was so great, that he sent a messenger after his servant, to hasten him.

"He then mounted his horse and rode hastily, as if it had been to save his own life, as he afterwards told me; but, for what cause, or where he should stop was unknown to him, till he came to a large concourse of people. He then enquired what their business was. On being informed, he rode up to the place where I was, and commanded the mob to desist their abuse, and sharply reproved them for their cruel conduct, and ordered them to disperse immediately.

"He then enquired if I had any friends present; and told me if I had not, he was determined to take care of me himself. Elder Hocknell appeared, and said he was my friend. The nobleman gave him strict charge to take care of me. Thus God made use of this nobleman to do His will."

While Mother Ann was relating this, Elder Hocknell was present, and he then told of his experiences that day, and testifying to the truth of what Mother Ann had said, he continued as follows: —

"I followed Mother, feeling determined to follow her amidst the crowd. I had not proceeded far, before I was taken and thrown into a 'bulge place' as they call it. With much difficulty I got out, and went to a fountain of water and washed myself, and then went and changed

my garments, and pursued after Mother. When I overtook the mob they beat and abused me very much, and then rolled me in a mud slough; and although I was wounded, and my head in a gore of blood, I did not suffer anger to rise in the least degree. After they left me, a poor widow came, and bound up my head with a handkerchief. I washed myself and went and changed my garments again, and went again in search after Mother. When I came to the place where she was, the nobleman was reproving and dispersing the mob."

Mother Ann at another time told Abigail Babbitt of a most terrible experience she had gone through.

"I was accused of blasphemy," she said. "My accusers told me that my tongue must be bored through with a hot iron, and that I must be branded on the cheek. I was led before four of the most learned ministers of those parts. They asked me to speak in other tongues. I told them they must wait for God's power to move me, for it was by the operation of God's power that I spoke in other tongues. Soon after the power of God came upon me, and I spoke to them in different tongues of the wonderful works of God. These men, being convinced that I spoke by the power of God, told the people not to hurt me; but the mob was not satisfied; their rage increased, and they said we must be stoned to death. So they led me and Elder William Lee, Elder James Whittaker, Daniel Whittaker, and James Shepard down into a valley, and the mob brought as many stones as two men could carry, and placed them down on the

side of the hill, and then began to cast them at us; but they could not hit any of us (except Daniel, who received a slight wound on one of his temples) upon which they fell into contention with themselves.

"While they were throwing their stones I felt surrounded by the presence of God, and my soul was filled with love. I knew they could not kill me, because my work was not done; therefore I felt joyful and comfortable, while my enemies felt distress and confusion.

"At another time," she added, "there came a mob by night, and dragged me out of the house by my feet, till they tore the skin off my face."

Abigail Babbitt testified that Mother then showed them the scars.[1]

Now during this period, in spite of many difficulties, the Shakers were transforming the tract of land hidden in the forests. The clearings they made were being turned into fertile meadows, and little by little they planted crops and orchards, and dug out the rocks and stones from the waste lands and built walls with them. They worked with a joyful enthusiasm, following out to the letter one of the strictest rules of the Shaker religion, "Hands to work, and hearts to God," and as they saw their work prospering, an added zeal was born in them to spread their gospel throughout the land.

Once at this time some young people came to see the Shakers, and Mother Ann gave them the following advice: —

[1] A Summary View of the Millennial Church. (1823.)

"When you return home you must be diligent with your hands; for godliness does not lead to idleness. The Devil tempts others; but an idle person tempts the Devil. When you are at work, doing your duty in the gift of God, the Devil can have no power over you, because there is no room for temptation."

And one day a young man came to her and asked her if he might plant some peach and plum stones which he had in his hand, and she replied, "Yea, — do your work as though you had a thousand years to live, and as you would if you knew you must die to-morrow." And as she turned and looked at an apple tree in full bloom, she exclaimed: —

"How beautiful this tree looks now! But some of the apples will soon fall off; some will hold on longer; some will hold on till they are full half grown and will then fall off; and some will get ripe. So it is with souls that set out in the way of God. Many will set out very fair and soon fall away; some will go further and then fall off; some will go still further, and then fall; and some will go through."

All this time Mother Ann had it in her heart to visit the homes of the "Believers," as they were wont to call them, that were scattered eastward. She often recalled the vision which came to her in England, of the far-away village, and the faces that were turned toward her expectantly; and she knew that as yet she had not seen that place, nor had she looked into those faces. So in

May, 1781, she and Elder William Lee, Elder James Whittaker, Samuel Fitch, Mary Partington, and Margaret Leland started out to face the dangers of the growing opposition which confronted them at every turn outside the confines of their forest home at Niskayuna. They left many brethren and sisters to care for the place in their absence, and with exhortations and words of warning to keep the candle of faith burning brightly, and to the remaining Elders to guard their flock, they went forth to the encounter of "the world" from which they meant to draw more converts to the new religion.

VII

SOWING THE SEED

WHEN Mother Ann and the Elders went forth on their journey, they were in no way ignorant of the dangers involved. Already they had learned through direful experience that they could not count upon either hospitality or kindness, and as they went from one village to another, and from town to town, suspicion and antagonism followed them. But in spite of this they made many converts. Men and women, both young and old, were drawn to them despite popular prejudice, and hundreds came to Mother Ann, and questioned her, and to all she preached the confession of sins, the life of self-denial, the rejection of the world, and the adoption of the laws of the spirit. She also expounded to them the law of non-resistance, of loving their enemies, — "The soft answer turneth away wrath," she would tell them, — and often those who were the most obdurate at first became her most ardent followers, and proclaimed with greatest vehemence that in her the Christ Spirit was made manifest.

It was a time of deep unrest in the religious world. Signs and wonders were looked for and expected, and the prophesying, the communications with the spirit world, the entrance of the spirit into a body and twisting it and turning it in violent contortions, the speaking in unknown tongues, — all of which formed an integral

part of the Shaker religion, — had a magnetic effect upon those of emotional temperament, and drew them, despite themselves, into the circle of influence which these strange people seemed to possess. It was this strong power, to which so many succumbed, that stirred a superstitious fear in the hearts of the majority in the country they passed through, and it was a frequent occurrence that upon their arrival at a village or town the authorities commanded them to leave the place and go elsewhere. Witchcraft, sorcery, the evil eye, — these were words that soon became associated with them in the minds of their enemies, and led to their inflicting abuse and cruelty upon them. Often they had to travel with much secrecy, but already the houses where they were welcome were numbering in the hundreds, and they would be given shelter and food in spite of the watchful eyes of the authorities. It was usual with them to hold a religious meeting when they were hospitably received, and the shouting and whirling, and the rhythmic dancing, which was their method of worship, swept their followers into a condition of mind bordering on ecstasy.

When questioned concerning their worship they would exclaim: —

"Why should the tongue, which is the most unruly member of the body, be the only chosen instrument of worship? God has also created the hands and the feet, and enabled them to perform their functions in the service of the body. And shall these important faculties, or indeed any of the powers and faculties of man, which God has given to be devoted to his service, be active in

man's service, or in the service of sin, and yet be idle in the service of God?

"God requires the faithful improvement of every created talent.

"O, clap your hands all ye people; shout unto God with a voice of triumph. Let the children of Zion be joyful in their King; let them praise his name in the dance."

When the children of Israel were delivered from their Egyptian bondage, Moses and the children of Israel sang unto the Lord a song of thanksgiving for their deliverance. "And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her, with timbrels and with dances."

And again: —

"Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord: then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together; for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them and make them rejoice from their sorrow."

"Did not David, and all Israel dance before the Lord? And did not the Psalmist sing thus: —

> 'O praise God in his holiness,
> Praise him in the firmament of his power,
> Praise him in the sound of the trumpet;
> Praise him upon the lute and the harp;
> Praise him in the cymbals and the *dances*'"?

Thus they explained their manner of worship to those who flocked to meet them.

But this religion of joy appalled the descendants of the grim and sober Puritans. The arguments of the Shakers confused them, for they knew they quoted the Scriptures, but they shrank from what seemed to them blasphemous and unseemly behavior, and as the voice of these strange people went abroad, the animosity of "the world" increased accordingly.

So they travelled through the country, welcomed gladly by some, and repudiated by others, until they arrived in the hill town of Harvard, Massachusetts, one June afternoon in 1781.

VIII

THE ARRIVAL AT THE SQUARE HOUSE

THE greater portion of this account of the arrival of Mother Ann and the Elders at the Square House and of the subsequent visits to neighboring towns was compiled by the Shakers in 1816 from eye-witnesses and from those who had taken part in the dramatic experiences attending the spreading of their gospel throughout New England. This compilation was published for the exclusive use of the Shaker Societies. It was found in manuscript with many additions among the Harvard Shaker records, signed by Elder Thomas Hammond (1853), who was deeply interested in collecting together all that could be found concerning the life of Mother Ann and the Elders and those early days, which a few who were then living could remember.

In addition were other manuscripts and old journals revealing many things concerning the Shakers which have never been put before the public until now.

The account of the arrival at the Square House begins as follows: —[1]

"Mother Ann and the Elders arrived at Harvard the latter part of June, 1781, stopping the first night at Zaccheus Stephens's in Still River, the last house in town on the right-hand side in going from Harvard to

[1] Some portions of this account appear in *Precepts of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders*. (Published by the Shakers in 1888.)

Lancaster. On Wednesday they went to Isaac Willard's (where our South family now is), where they tarried about a week. The house of Isaac Willard was in sight of the Square House, so called, in Harvard, where Mother and the Elders afterwards took up their residence. While at Isaac Willard's, Mother saw in vision a large mob, in black, which filled the road leading to the Square House, and which seemed opposed to her going there. She then saw two angels, who made their way through the mob, by which she perceived that God would open the way for her to go.

"As they made their way to the Square House the last part of June or 1st of July, they probably came up to the stoop in front, on the south side of the house. Father William spoke and said, 'Are you willing we should come into your house?' (Abigail Cooper lived there at that time.) Abigail Cooper replied, 'No, I don't know as I am.' (Previous to this Abigail had gotten a little hint they were going to try to get in at the Square House to make their home there. She, knowing they were English people, her feelings were not favorable to them.) 'Well, you'll let us come in, will you?' 'I suppose I must.'"

They came in, and after taking their seats they observed they were going to John Cooper's (this was perhaps half a mile from the Square House in a northerly direction), "and when we return from there we had thought of tarrying with you awhile." This did not set well on Abigail's feelings to have them speak of tarrying there. They asked her if she was satisfied with the reli-

gion she had — "if it saved her from sin?" Said they, "We have the pure gospel of Christ, and no confidence in the flesh; and if you will take us in, we will do you good." "All we want is to help souls to God," said Mother Ann. Abigail said she had seen a great deal of false religion, and did not want to see any more. She thought if they had any new religion they could keep it to themselves, for all her: — she did not want it, nor did she care about seeing them. Mother Ann, looking at Abigail, said, "I have seen you before"; and looking around on the rest she said, "and so I have seen you all." (This had reference to Mother's vision in England.) "She tarried a short time," said Abigail, in telling about it, "and before they went out they asked me if I did not love them? I told them I did not. Father William answered me, 'We will make you love us before we leave the place.' As they were going out, Father William gave me an apple. I did not want it, but took it, and laid it on the manteltree piece. They had not been gone long before I could say in truth that I did love them. I loved the apple they gave me, for their sakes. When I was about my work I would now and then look at the apple, and take it in my hand. I knew they had something good about them because I loved them. So, I wanted they should come back, and when they came I was thankful to take them in, and glad to do anything for them that I could do. I found Mother's words to be true. In the conversation, Father William frequently said 'Don't you love us? Don't you love us some?'"

After this the arrangements and preparations were

ISAAC WILLARD'S HOUSE WHERE MOTHER ANN AND THE ELDERS STOPPED ON THEIR WAY TO THE SQUARE HOUSE

General Lafayette passed a night here when he visited the Harvard Shakers

made for the reception of Mother Ann and the Elders at the Square House, and they proceeded thither and took up their residence.

"Here they were visited from almost every quarter of the land where the sound of the testimony had extended, and continued to preach the gospel and minister the power of salvation and eternal life to all who were willing to receive it. Here Mother Ann found the place and the people which had been shown to her in vision while in England, and during her residence in this place the gospel had a rapid and extensive circulation. She visited many places in this quarter, where the sound of the gospel had awakened souls to serious enquiry and where numbers had already embraced the testimony, particularly Shirley, Littleton, Woburn, and Petersham.

"As grain was scarce in and about Harvard, Mother Ann sent Jonathan Slosson and Reuben Harrison to the Western Believers at Lebanon and about there, for grain, etc. They went, and by the kindness and liberality of their faithful brethren, they soon obtained a good supply of flour and cheese. When they returned to Harvard with their provisions, Mother Ann and the Elders wept, and kneeled down in thankfulness to God for such a manifestation of faith and liberality in His people. Mother then called on the young believers to see what kindness and liberality had been displayed by the Western Believers, and to witness the faith and zeal of the two young men who had been on such a journey for their sakes. She said it was an example worthy of their imitation, and ought to awaken them to thankfulness and gratitude.

"In December, 1781, Mother Ann and the Elders made a journey to Petersham. They arrived at Thomas Shattuck's late in the evening, and found the family watching and waiting in expectation of their coming. Mother Ann said, 'It is good to watch, and you should always watch.' Father William said, 'Ye watched, for ye knew not the hour we would come.' They, however, proceeded to David Hammond's that night. The next day, being the Sabbath, many people of the world came to attend meeting. Elder James preached the gospel from these words: 'Cleanse your hands, ye sinners; and purify your hearts, ye double minded; be afflicted and mourn and weep.' (James IV, 8–9.) He spoke with great power and energy of the spirit, and urged the necessity of confessing, forsaking, and repenting of their sins. 'What is cleansing the hands,' said he, 'but confessing sins? And what is purifying the heart but forsaking them? And what is being afflicted and mourning and weeping but repenting of sin?' He continued his discourse about two hours.

"This being the first visit that Mother Ann and the Elders had made in Petersham, the inhabitants generally manifested a desire to see and hear for themselves, and as they pretended civility they had full liberty.

"Accordingly on Monday evening there came a considerable number of civil people; also a company of lewd fellows from the middle of the town, who styled themselves the 'Blackguard Committee.' This was the night that the ruffians carried off Mother Ann, knocked down and cruelly beat David Hammond and Mary, his woman; Father James was clinched by the collar,

knocked down, and left for dead, and several others were knocked down. Father William was also hurt and all that stood in the way were beaten and bruised more or less." [1]

There are more details known about this visit to Petersham as follows: —

At the meeting held on that Monday evening, Elder James Whittaker was in charge. It was held in a room which opened out into another of a larger size and here had congregated the people of the world who had come out of curiosity to attend the meeting. Elder James asked those who were really interested to come into the room where the Believers had assembled. They all came crowding in to hear Elder James read the Scriptures. Mother Ann and Elizabeth Shattuck were sitting on a bed, while near them a number of other Sisters were grouped. Elder James stood with a light in his hand and was just about to read, when a cry of 'knock out the lights' rang through the rooms, and in an instant the whole assembly was in confusion. All the lights except one were extinguished, and into the room rushed three men with faces disguised with black paint, and seizing hold of Mother Ann, attempted to drag her from the room. Elizabeth Shattuck and the other Sisters rushed to her rescue, and a violent scrimmage took place. So fierce was the defense of the Shaker Sisters, that the men fearing recognition retreated and suddenly left the house. Elder James, apprehensive of some further trouble, asked the rest of the people there to quietly go to their homes. They accordingly dispersed.

[1] From unpublished records.

Mother Ann with prophetic insight declared that the ruffians would return ere long, and in distress of mind the little band began to "labor" in order to keep evil away from them. But after a while confidence returned, and they were all about to secure some rest, when Mother Ann looked out of the windows and saw dark figures moving around the side of the house. She tried to hide herself knowing that she was the one of all others whom they were seeking, and the others fastened the doors and secured them as best they could, but immediately a party of thirty men threw themselves against the doors, and bursting them open they rushed into the house, uttering oaths and imprecations. As the sisters had hidden away all the candles that were lying about on the floors after the scrimmage that had taken place, the men seized the pine knots out of the old chimney, and blowing them into a flame, they hurriedly made a search of all the rooms in the house. Mother Ann had taken refuge in one of the bedrooms, and when they finally found her "they immediately seized her by the feet and inhumanely dragged her, feet foremost, out of the house, and threw her into a sleigh with as little ceremony as they would the dead carcase of a beast, committing at the same time acts of inhumanity which even savages would be ashamed of."[1]

The night was bitterly cold, and Mother Ann, with her clothes torn and tattered, was driven some miles to a tavern kept by one Samuel Peckham. Father William Lee and David Hammond had caught on to the back of

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)

the sleigh, and in spite of being beaten over the heads with heavy whips, they managed to cling on in their desire to do their best to protect Mother Ann if possible.

When the tavern was reached the men called for drink and Father William took the opportunity to remonstrate with them and bitterly reproach them for their cruelty. So earnest were his words that a sense of shame came over them, and fearing that their identity might be discovered they agreed to let Mother Ann go free if they would sign a promise not to prosecute them for their unlawful acts. Fearing that a refusal might renew their persecution of Mother Ann, Father William agreed to this, and some of the men drove them back to David Hammond's house. Mother Ann entered the house singing joyfully a song of praise for her deliverance. This made a deep impression on her persecutors, and some of them admitted that they felt a sense of shame at having abused her so cruelly, and they asked her forgiveness. Mother Ann's answer was this: "I freely forgive you. I hold nothing against you, and I pray God to forgive you." Whereupon they left the house, sobered and ashamed.

But it was not safe for the little band of Shakers to remain in Petersham. The accusations against them of witchcraft, which followed them wherever they went, raised such terror among some of the inhabitants that menacing threats were heard on all sides, and they decided to return to Harvard.

IX

MOTHER ANN'S MINISTRATION

THE Square House now became the centre of an extraordinary demonstration of religious enthusiasm. Hundreds of men and women journeyed there — the coming and going was incessant. As the days and weeks went by the ardor of the worship of God in their meetings increased. It is said that the sound that came from them could be heard a mile away. Mother Ann and the Elders exhorted their followers to confess their sins, and they did so with loud lamentations followed by excessive joy.

In speaking of this the following account is given in "A Summary View of the Millennial Church": —

"Her labors in this particular were often attended with such mighty power of God and such sharp and piercing testimony that few who heard it were able to resist its convicting power. Many were so powerfully wrought upon that they could not refrain from crying out and confessing their sins on the spot. Others whose feelings were more bound by the fear of the cross could find no rest, day or night, from the tormenting weight of their sins till they had honestly confessed them before some witness of God, appointed for that purpose. And every one who was honest and faithful in that important work soon experienced the forgiving power of God, and

felt an inward evidence of union and relation to the Kingdom of Heaven."

And to those who came to confess their sins to her, she said, "If you confess your sins, you must confess them to God; we are but his witnesses." To such as asked her forgiveness she used to say, "I can freely forgive you, and I pray to God to forgive you. It is God that forgives sins. I am but your fellow servant."

Now there was one man who professed faith, who confessed his sins to one of the Elders, but Mother Ann was convinced that he had not confessed all. This was a grave offense, and she called another Elder named Amos Rathbun and told him to go and labor with this man. "For he has pretended to open his mind, but has not done it honestly," she said. Accordingly Amos went and labored with the man [1] who pretended to make full confesssion, but he still did not confess truthfully or honestly. Mother Ann, still feeling and knowing the man's hypocrisy to Amos, also went into the room herself, and spoke to the man with great sharpness and severity, saying, "You cover your sin, and do not confess it honestly." These words were spoken with such power of God that the man was struck down, and fell, with his whole length upon the floor, groaned out, and said, "It is true," and appeared to be in desperate agony, and for some time he was unable to rise up. While he lay in that situation, Mother Ann sharply reproved him for such abominable conduct, and for not confessing it to

[1] The word "laboring" in this sense means shaking out evil. During this exercise the body is twisted with contortions which they believe is due to the inflow of the spirit.

Amos when he was called upon, and declared to him the impossibility of ever keeping the way of God with sin covered.[1]

One of the tenets of Mother Ann's religion was that cleanliness was next to godliness, and this she dwelt on with special emphasis. Zeruah Clark was a Believer to whose house they sometimes went to hold a meeting, and on one occasion Mother Ann said to her: —

"Be faithful to keep the gospel; be neat and industrious; keep your family's clothes clean and decent; see that your house is kept clean and your victuals are prepared in good order, that when the Brethren come in from their hard work they can bless you, and eat their food with thankfulness, without murmuring, and be able to worship in the beauty of holiness. Watch, and be careful, don't speak harsh, nor cast reflections upon them; but let your words be few, and seasoned with grace."

Lucy Bishop was once scrubbing a room and Mother Ann came in and said, "Clean your room well; for good spirits will not live where there is dirt. There is no dirt in Heaven."

At another time she spoke to some sisters who had been washing the floor, saying, "You ought to be neat and clean; for there are no slovens or sluts in Heaven";[2] and Brother John Robinson testifies that Mother Ann said to one of the Believers when they were holding a

[1] Testimony of Amos Rathbun.
[2] Testimony of Sister Lucy Prescott

meeting, "Never put on silver spoons nor tablecloths for me, but let your tables be clean enough to eat from without cloths."

To the men she gave this command: —

"Every faithful man will go forth to put up his fences in season, and will plow his ground in season, and put his crops into the ground in season; and such a man may with confidence look for a blessing. But the slothful and indolent will say: 'To-morrow will do as well, — and to-morrow will do as well.' Such a man never finds a blessing, — if he has anything it is afterwards, and there seems no blessing in it. Just so he is in spiritual things; — he will be slothful in the work of God, and he will reap his reward. He that is unfaithful in the unrighteous Mammon, how can he be trusted with the true riches?"

And she would exhort them to be industrious and economical and to let nothing be lost through shiftlessness and neglect. And this was the creed she gave them: —

"Put your hands to work and your hearts to God; pay all your just debts, and right all your wrongs. Remember the poor; if you have but little to spare, give to them that need. Be neat and clean, and keep the fear of God in all your goings forth."

These and many other like exhortations show the foundation of good, old-fashioned common sense that underlay the mysticism and fanaticism that were so strong in Mother Ann's nature. It was this capacity to

make her followers intermingle the humblest kind of drudgery of everyday life and the enthusiasm of their religious belief that gave sufficient life and impetus to the Society of Believers to carry them successfully through nearly a century and a half of great prosperity.

Now the Square House was full to overflowing and hundreds camped in the woods near by. The present village street was then a mere wood road, but soon it bore the imprint of innumerable feet as day and night the brethren and sisters would go forth in the worship of God. Songs of Zion rent the air. Shouts of joy reverberated from hill to hill. Much care fell upon Mother Ann and the Elders, and in an extract from one of the old journals a quaint description of it is given by Sister Jemima Blanchard to Eldress Roxalana Grosvenor who reports it: —

"At a time when Mother and the Elders were greatly pressed with company and had very heavy labors so that they had slept very little for some weeks, Jemima saw Father James going to the barn. Mother called him and told him of some labors she wished him to perform. Father said, 'This is the third time I have started to go to the barn and lie down.' Mother replied, 'James, you are faithful, you shall have rest, but you cannot have it now.'

"Sister Jemima once heard Mother reprove one of the brethren for going without his victuals for the sake of mortification and asked where he got his gift [inspiration]. She said Mother taught them to eat as much as they needed for the support of the body, and then serve

God by the strength of it. She always showed a concern that all should have what they needed. She took special care of Jemima in this respect as she was bashful, and had but little appetite."

Amos Taylor of Harvard stated "that a store of provisions was kept at the Square House sufficient for a large number of guests," and that meetings were there held daily which generally continued until past midnight, and sometimes until break of day. The exercises were chiefly singing and dancing, forty or fifty men in one room, and as many women in another, "moving about as thick as they can crowd with extraordinary transports, singing sometimes one at a time, sometimes more than one," or dancing by a "perpetual springing from the house floor about four inches up and down." [1]

[1] History of Harvard, Massachusetts.

X

HOW JEMIMA BLANCHARD BECAME A SHAKER SISTER

THE following account was dictated by Sister Jemima Blanchard to Eldress Roxalana Grosvenor after the former had reached a great age and had become blind. The old manuscript reveals the extraordinary magnetic influence exerted by Mother Ann.

"Daniel Wood was the first person from whom I obtained any knowledge respecting the Believers. He came to my father's house one evening, when I was there on a visit. (I lived at Isaac Willard's; the place our South family now occupy.) He said that they confessed their sins, and were operated upon by the power of God. My brother Joseph and myself were all the children who were there, the rest being out on an evening visit.

"I listened to the conversation as long as I could hear it, it affected my feelings so, and then went out. Joseph soon followed me, and we talked about it together.

"He said he would take me up to see them; but I did not agree to this, yet there was always a fear in my mind after this that they were the only people of God. Joseph seemed to feel it more than I did. Daniel said he did not know but they would come here, and I feared it. This was in the winter. The next April or May Joseph came to me and told me he had heard that they were coming, and that he intended to go to sea to get away from them.

I tried to dissuade him, but to no purpose. I never saw him afterwards. The next June I went to Holliston to work for a family by the name of Cutter. My friends were anxious to have me go, I suspect, for fear I should get taken in with the Shakers; and I was willing to get away for the same reason. While I was there Daniel Wood visited Cutter. I was at that time absent with a neighbor of his; and Cutter sent word to him to keep me over night, and in the morning he came there, and requested the man of the house to keep me through the day. And being afraid myself to see Daniel I stayed willingly.

"I afterwards learned that Daniel stayed pretty much the next day, on purpose to see me. When I returned to Cutter's I urged him to go and see the Shakers; his wife joined me in it, and we persuaded him to go. On his return he spoke favorably of the people. He said that Father William told him that God was at work with him, and tried to make him promise that if, during his stay in the place he should feel conviction he would return unto him. And he did promise. He told us that while on his way from Harvard town to Zaccheus Stephens's he felt such a weight of conviction come upon him that he got off his horse and lay down on the ground. He then knew that Father's word to him was true, and that to fulfill his promise he must go and see him. But he felt so certain that he should have to set out if he did that he broke his promise. We were so much interested in his account that we prevailed on him to go again and carry us. Accordingly in September he came and brought us. We went first to Zaccheus Stephens's in Harvard where

I saw some who had set out. Of these I knew Father Eleazer and Tabitha Green. They appeared so solemn and heavenly that it struck my feelings very much; they were under the operations of the power of God. We sat down to supper with the family. When they kneeled Cutter and his wife kneeled with them, but I durst not. I looked at them with wonder, and saw the power of God visible on their faces and even on the clothes of the Believers. It looked perfectly white and run in veins. I noticed it mostly on those young persons whom I knew. We went on that night to my father's where we stayed all night. In the morning I started off alone to go to the Square House; — passed by Jeremiah Willard's where I was well acquainted. Oliver Willard, his first child (a very remarkable child who died when about three years old, being in great distress in his sickness, his friends would pity him, but he would reply, 'Pain ain't Hell') not two years old, was on the steps; he knew me and ran up to me. I took him up, he looked me in the face and immediately set to shaking his head so that it seemed as if his neck must break, and I put him down. He then took hold of my clothes and pulled me towards the house; I went in and found them all Believers. They spoke kindly to me, yet they seemed so solemn and strange that I soon came out, and went on to Isaac Willard's (his father) where I used to live. Here I found the same change in the appearance of the family, yet they looked pleasant, and were kind to me, said they were glad I had come, and asked if I was going to meeting, etc. I soon left them and thought I would go and see for myself what had wrought such a change in all my acquaintance.

There were two young women at the Square House, with whom I used to be acquainted, viz., Deliverance and Beulah Cooper. I found them in the kitchen to work; and as I was passing through the hall, they came and invited me into the kitchen and talked very lovingly to me, said they had wanted very much that I should come, etc.

"Mother was in the kitchen washing herself; she turned and looked at me with such a pleasant heavenly countenance, that it absorbed my whole soul, so that I scarcely heard what my companions said to me. Mother hastily put on her cap and handkerchief and came to me. She took me by the arm and said, 'Wilt thou be a daughter of Zion, and be searched as Jerusalem with candles?' I answered not, for I knew not what to say. Her word seemed to me like the voice of God. She then took me into meeting, and it seemed to me all day that her eyes were upon me, and that she could see through me. Once while passing through the kitchen into the meeting room Mother pulled me into her lap and hugged me to her heart saying, 'How is it that you are the buntling, when Phebe (my youngest sister) is the youngest?' As I always was my mother's pet, this made me feel still more that Mother knew all about me. The young women before mentioned got dinner for us, and when I came to the table they informed me that it was their manner to kneel before eating, and insisted upon my uniting with them, but I objected, saying that I did not want any dinner.

"My natural father desired me to conform, but I felt that I could not, there being many of the world looking

on, with countenances expressive of scorn and contempt. Mother then came to me and said, 'It is becoming in all people to render thanks to God.' This bound my feelings so that I kneeled with her, yet showed by my manner that I did it for manner's sake. It was not our intention to stay overnight, but my acquaintances begged me to, and Mother told Cutter's wife she had better stay and let me visit my acquaintances; so we consented and stayed. In the morning we met Mother in the hall; she spoke very lovingly to us, and invited us to stay to breakfast, but Cutter's wife excused herself by saying, 'We must be making our visit end as fast as we can,' etc. Mother said, 'Why do you want to get this young woman away? You cannot help her soul to God; and you cannot do this for you have not found Him yourself.' She took offense and went away, charging me to come soon. I told her I would, and that I would be to my father's to breakfast. As soon as Mother left me I went into the kitchen and took my leave of my acquaintances, leaving my compliments for Mother with them, and then made the best of my way out of the house, and hastened homeward, feeling released that I had got away, for I did not feel as if it was possible for me to be one of them.

"I had gone about as far as where the first house now stands, when I distinctly heard Mother come downstairs, go into the kitchen and say, 'Where is that young woman?' They replied, 'She is gone.' 'Gone!' said Mother. 'What did you let her go for? Go and call her back; tell her she has not bid me farewell yet; and it was I that invited her to stay, and she has not treated me with good manners.' I stopped as it were involunta-

rily and turned around, saw Mother standing on the doorstep, and the young women coming after me. They told me what Mother said, and I went back to excuse myself for I abhorred the idea of treating any one with ill manners, and especially such a beautiful and God-like woman as Mother. I told her I could not stay, that I liked them very much, but that I could not be like them, certainly at present; that they were now waiting for me to breakfast and that I could not stay any longer — that perhaps I should come again, etc. Mother said, 'Oh, oh, nay, you did not mean to come again.' I knew this was my very thought, so I knew not what to say, but still kept excusing myself as Mother held me by the arm. I kept trying to get my arm away, but as soon as I did this she would take me by the other, while she advanced still nearer to the house. When we got to the door I resisted going in, as much as I could civilly; and after I got in I kept striving to get away, but Mother would have another and another word to say, and I kept speaking in behalf of the people, how well I liked them, and how well they had done by me, meaning every sentence should be the last, until Mother said, 'Don't you want the people of God to pray for you?' I replied that I did. In an instant her arms were around my waist, and we were both on our knees. I shook so that the windows shattered, but I did not know what it was for some moments. Mother said, 'James, did I not tell you that the time had come when we must go into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in?' After this I thought no more of going home, being exercised almost constantly by the power of God for many days.

"Cutter and his wife stayed at my father's about a week, to see if I would not return; they then came to the Square House to see if they could not get me; and as I was laboring by the east door Cutter's wife catched me by the clothes, and told me that Cutter wanted to speak with me, pretending there was some necessity for it, and said that he was standing by the fence. So I went with her as far as the south door, when the Believers saw me, and a company came out and took me into the house, while another company raised a war and drove them off. It was thought there was a plan laid to take me away by force.

"I stayed about a month before I went home at all, doing nothing but to attend meeting and exercise in the gifts of God, except that I helped the kitchen sisters occasionally. Mother had given liberty for me to do this at any time; but when there was meeting (which was most of the time until one or two o'clock in the morning, except at meal times) I did not like to be out much.

"There were from one to two hundred there to dinner much of the time, but this would be accomplished quicker than any one could believe who had not seen it. At one time in the winter season there were so many, they were afraid they should break down into the cellar, and the brethren went out into the woods and cut lumber for props, and placed them down cellar to hold up the meeting-room floor. At this time Mother Ann called for all the children under fourteen years of age and sent them home, attended by a suitable person to take care of them. Then Mother Ann took some of the young sisters who stood next to her, and went out into the

door yard and we labored around these with her. I was glad I happened to be near her, for I did not know as any others would come; but they flocked out after Mother, till I should think half of the assembly were there. There was room enough in the house after Mother went out. They would occasionally have an intermission of from fifteen minutes to half an hour in the course of the meeting. After being there about three weeks I expressed some uneasiness about not working any more with my hands; but as they seemed satisfied with me I contented myself a while longer. But when I had been there about a month I spoke of my home at Isaac Willard's. There was so much company all the time at the Square House that I could not feel at home in any place except in meeting, or in the kitchen. Mother told me they would labor upon it, and they concluded I might go. So I went home, but I used to go to meeting every night. I do not think I was left at home but one night, and then Mother told Jeremiah he must not do it again, as my brothers (who were very much opposed) might come and take me away by force. Mother would often have me stay overnight, if it was wet, or I was very weary, or not well.

"I opened my mind to John Partington soon after I received the power of God as before stated, and the next morning he went away, so that I had no more opportunity with him. And although I did it according to my best understanding at the time, yet Mother knew I needed another privilege and sent for me by Father William. At first I was bound in my feelings, not knowing what to say, till they kneeled and prayed to God for me; I then talked with perfect freedom and without any cross.

"The next winter after I believed, my brother went to Jeremiah Willard and told him that my mother was sick and wanted to see me. It was thought best for me to go, and Lucy Prescott went with me. I found Cutter there, my mother was knitting. He tried to persuade me to go home with him; said his wife could not be pacified without his trying once more to get me.

"He was a minister, and wealthy. They had often talked to me of the property, as if it was as much mine as theirs, if I would only stay with them; and now he brought up all his arguments afresh. My relations, except my mother, were very much against me, but I stood against them all. I had a real gift to speak to Cutter; he sat with his face in his hands, and did not speak a word; neither did any one else, except my mother, who admonished me for being saucy; but I heeded it not, and when I had done speaking I left the house immediately. I heard from Cutter several times afterwards, and learned that he run out of his property and became poor, which seemed like a real judgment, as there was no apparent cause for it." [1]

[1] "I have heard Beulah Cooper speak of this man. She was in a meeting which he attended, and had a sign of sleeping. She sallied back and said, 'Let me alone, let me sleep.' *He* said that was a sign to him.

"R. L. G."

XI

HARVARD HOSTILITY TO THE SHAKERS

To the Shakers their form of worship was as sacred an exercise as that performed by the children of Israel before the Ark in the Temple, but to those who had no knowledge of the symbolism involved in it, it seemed like a mad riot. It was not so very strange, therefore, that the people of Harvard rebelled against this disturbing element that little by little was sifting its way into the imaginations and emotions of at least one, and often two, in almost every household for miles around. Family ties were being snapped asunder; lovers separated in fright; the betrothed abjured their vows, and were seen among the throngs of worshippers, white-faced and ardent, in their labors to reach the spiritual plane.

Those in opposition spared no pains to excite popular feeling against Mother Ann and the Elders. They called her the "Elect Lady," and tried to besmirch her character by every sort of insinuation, and by direct accusation as well; but in spite of all they could do or say, the numbers who followed her increased. A description of what took place from "the world's" viewpoint was printed at Harvard at this time: —

"When they meet together for worship, they fall a-groaning and trembling, and every one acts alone for himself; one will fall prostrate on the floor; another on

his knees and his head on his hands; another will be muttering inarticulate sounds which neither they nor anybody else can understand. Some will be singing, each one his own tune, some without words in an Indian tone; some singing jig tunes, sometimes of their own making in an unknown mutter, which they call new tongues; some will be dancing and others laughing heartily and loudly; others will be drumming on the floor with their feet, as though a pair of drum-sticks were beating a ruff on a drum head; others will be agonized as though they were in great pain; others jumping up and down; others muttering over somebody, and talking to them; others will be shooing and hissing evil spirits out of the house; all in different tunes, groaning, jumping, laughing, talking, and stuttering, shooing, and hissing that makes a perfect bedlam; this they call the worship of God. . . . One of their postures which increases among them is turning round very swift for an hour and sometimes for two hours at a time, till they are all wet with sweat; this they say is to show the great power of God.

"They meet together in the night and have been heard two miles by the people in the dead of night; sometimes a company of them will run away to a house, get into it, raise a bedlam, wake up all in the house, and the neighbors roundabout for a mile. They run about in the woods and elsewhere hooting and tooting like owls. . . ."

At dawn, at midday, in the twilight, at the moonrise, a traveller on the country roads around Harvard would

see women and men, sometimes in groups according to sex, sometimes a single figure, whirling past them "dancing with rhythmic shaking of heads, arms, and hands." Fear and superstition gripped the hearts of the beholders and they were wont to flee precipitately.

But to the Believers the Kingdom of Heaven seemed very near, and they were ready to face any opposition or any persecution so great was their zeal and so complete was their conviction.

"In reproving and condemning sin, and all manner of evil, in feeling, words, and actions, the power of Mother Ann's testimony was beyond description. As nothing appeared to bring such excessive suffering and tribulation of soul upon her, as sin among 'Believers'; so the evident manifestation of the power of God through her, in reproving it, was often so extraordinary as to cause the most stubborn and stout-hearted to shake and tremble in her presence like a leaf shaken in the wind." [1]

But to add to the apprehensions of the people of Harvard, a rumor began to spread that the Shakers were in reality English spies, and whispered tales of secreted ammunition at the Square House aroused a deeper suspicion and ire. David Whitney, a landowner, reported that a man had told him of a strange and mysterious-looking chest which was supposed to be filled with firearms, and which he had seen with his own eyes.

In the warrant for a town meeting called August 31, 1781, was this article: —

[1] *A Summary View of the Millennial Church.*

"To hear and consider a petition of a number of Inhabitants of Harvard, and see if the Town will, agreeable to said petition, consult and determine on some means to remove the people called Shaking Quakers who are collected together in this Town."

It was voted to prosecute them, and a committee was formed to look into the matter. Captain Ephraim Davis and his company of militia escorted the committee to the Square House for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of these current reports. But whether they proved true or not, it was decided to warn the Shakers to leave the place before a certain date.

They arrived at the Square House just as the Believers were worshipping in meeting. The company surrounded the house and Captain Ephraim Davis shouldered his way to the room where Mother Ann was, and told her to leave the town. She replied that she meant to do so; "But," she added, "I will return again the next day if it is God's will, for all of you!"

In the mean time a number of men entered the room where the Brethren were worshipping.

"Daniel Wood, by order of Father William Lee, was stationed at the partition door, to keep the mob from entering the sisters' apartment:—several attempted to enter, but were kept back by Daniel. At length a violent, spirited stout man came up with a determination to enter, and clinching Daniel with sudden violence, forced him through the door. Instantly the blood gushed forth, and ran down Daniel's face and bosom. Soon after this

the Captain came downstairs and seeing Daniel bloody, enquired who had done this? 'One of your men,' replied Daniel. The Captain in fear of what might follow withdrew his men hastily, but not before he had satisfied himself that there were no firearms at the Square House." [1]

The Shakers then went on with their meeting, and in the ecstasy of their worship became oblivious to the menace of "the world."

[1] *Precepts of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders.*

XII

DESCRIBING THE APPEARANCE OF MOTHER ANN, FATHER WILLIAM, AND FATHER JAMES

In "A Summary View of the Millennial Church" is to be found a description of the personal appearance of Mother Ann. To the Shakers she stood as a luminous, vibrating figure against the dark, murky background of sin and ignorance, and that she was beloved by her followers is touchingly evident from their testimonies, which ring with a genuine devotion. In these days of modern psychology much of her immediate power might be explained along the lines of magnetism and hypnotic suggestion; but these laws were unknown to the general public in her day, and the accounts that have come down of her through limited sources show plainly that she believed herself to be the medium for transmitting the direct power of God, and it was this conviction that enabled her to endure the hardships that followed her to the end of her life.

"She was a woman rather below the common stature of women, thick-set, but straight, and otherwise well proportioned and regular in form and features. Her complexion was light and fair, and her eyes were blue, but keen and penetrating; her countenance was mild and expressive, but grave and solemn. Her natural constitution was sound, strong, and healthy. Her manners were plain, simple, and easy; yet she possessed a certain

dignity of appearance that inspired confidence and commanded respect. By many of the world who saw her without prejudice she was called beautiful; and to her faithful children, she appeared to possess a degree of dignified beauty and heavenly love which they had never before discovered among mortals.

"At times, when under the power and operation of the Holy Spirit, her countenance shone with the glory of God, and her form and actions appeared divinely beautiful and very angelic. The power and influence of her spirit at such times was great beyond description, and no one was able to gainsay or resist the authority, by which she spoke."

Sister Thankful Bruce described her thus: —

"When I arrived there Mother Ann met me at the door, took hold of my hand and led me into the house. She sat down in a chair, and I sat down by her side. Her eyes were shut and it appeared that her sense was withdrawn from the things of time. She sung very melodiously, and appeared very beautiful. Her countenance appeared bright and shining, like an angel of glory, and she seemed to be overshadowed with the glory of God. The graceful motion of her hands, the beautiful appearance of her countenance, and the heavenly melody of her voice, made her seem like a glorious inhabitant of the heavenly world, singing praises to God.

"As I sat by the side of her, one of her hands, while in motion, frequently touched my arm; and at every touch of her hand I instantly felt the power of God run through my whole body."

Sister Elizabeth Johnson also tells of her first sight of Mother Ann: —

"She came singing into the room where I was sitting, and I felt an inward evidence that her singing was the gift and power of God. She came and sat down by my side, and put her hand upon my arm. Instantly I felt the power of God flow from her and run through my whole body. I was then convinced beyond all doubt that she had the power of God, and that I received it from her."

Brother Daniel Moseley in describing her says: —

"I also visited her after she went to Harvard. Her appearance then seemed to me more heavenly than I had ever seen it before. Her soul was filled with love and joy, peace and purity; and the gifts and power of God, through her, to all that took up their crosses, were ministered in great abundance."

And Brother Richard Treat said of her: —

"Even the Heavenly joy that seemed to shine in her countenance was sufficient to cheer the heart of every beholder."

Eliab Harlow says of his visit to her: —

"Mother Ann's appearance seemed truly beauteous and heavenly while walking the floor under the beautiful operations of God, and I was fully convinced that the power of God was there."

At another time, in the presence of Timothy Hubbard and others, Mother Ann was overshadowed with the power of God.

"She stood erect on the floor for the space of an hour; her countenance was angelic, and she seemed to notice nothing of the things of time. She sang chiefly in unknown tongues; though sometimes, she uttered expressions in her own language. Among other expressions she recited the following: —'Thou wilt keep them in perfect peace whose minds are stayed on Thee.'"

In describing Mother Ann, Joseph Main, a Believer, wrote in after years: —

"I was passing through a room where Mother Ann was. I saw her sitting in a chair and singing very melodiously, with her hands in motion; and her whole soul and body seemed to be in exercise. I felt as it were a stream of divine power and love flow into my soul, and was convinced at once that it came from Heaven, the source and fountain of all good. I immediately acknowledged my faith, and went and confessed my sins, honestly and conscientiously. After this I went and righted my wrongs, and set out, once for all, with a determination to live a righteous life according to the counsel of God through these strange people, whom I verily found to be his true witnesses." [1]

In an old journal Sister Roxalana Grosvenor tells us that Sister Jemima Blanchard said: —

[1] *Testimonies concerning the Character and Ministry of Mother Ann Lee.* (1827.)

"She never saw Mother under any violent operation of the power of God. She seemed to possess within herself an inexhaustible fountain of that power which she would often communicate to a whole assembly by singing (not in a loud voice) and gently motioning her hands, or by speaking a few words. Father William and Father James used to labor in the worship with great power and zeal, and administer gifts to all around. But Mother's presence, — merely the sound of her voice, — or in the movement of her hand when under the immediate influence of the spirit of God, was far more powerful than the united gifts of all others on earth. She was the supporter of all their gifts and the centre of their influence, and this they ever seemed to consider her, by all I could gather from Sister Jemima Blanchard."

Sister Jemima also stated "that she had seen Father William and Father James on their knees, their arms around each other's necks an hour at a time, sorrowing, that they might bring the people into that gift. Sometimes they would most all come into it." [1]

Father William Lee had been an officer of the horse in the king's royal guard, belonging to a volunteer regiment called the Oxford Blues. In his person he was of a commanding figure, rather above middling height, thick-set, large limbs, and strong body. His hair was of a light chestnut brown, his eyes blue, his countenance open and very bold, calculated to inspire confidence and respect. He possessed a strong and robust constitution; his voice was strong, clear, and sonorous; in short, he

[1] Unpublished manuscript.

was very remarkable for his strength, both in body and mind. In his faith he was firm, zealous, and powerful. He feared not the face of man; but was faithful, laborious, and persevering in the cause of God. In times of mobs and persecutions he was always undaunted, and often testified against the wickedness of his persecutors with a boldness and confidence which clearly evinced that he was a stranger to the fear of man.

But one day in conversation with Ephraim Welch (a Believer) concerning the war which then existed in America, and the great troubles occasioned thereby, Father William said: —

"Wars will never cease until God has finished his work with the nations of the earth; although it may be buried like fire for a season, yet it will break out with sevenfold increase, among the nations of the earth. The same sword which has persecuted the people of God, will be turned into the world among themselves, and it will never be sheathed until it has done its work."

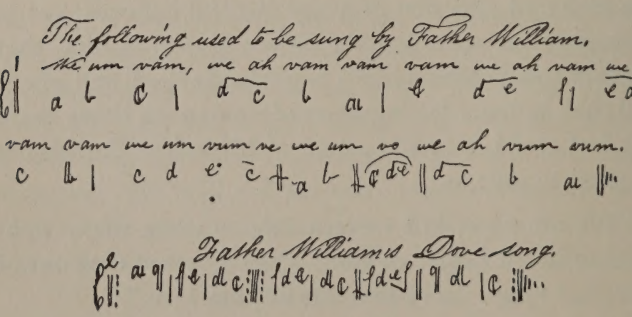
Father William possessed great kindness and charity, and such flow of heavenly love that he never failed to gain the love and affection of every faithful believer; yet in reproving sin, such was the power of God in him, that his very spirit seemed like a two-edged sword, and every one that had any feeling sense of sin at such times could not but tremble at the sound of his voice. Sometimes he used to say: —

"We are poor, but we are able to make many rich; poor, afflicted people of God! Once I served God out of fear; but now I serve him out of pure love."

Father William had one great fear, and that was that he might appear unappreciative of his everyday blessings before God.

"So feelingly alive was his soul to the goodness and mercy of God, even for the smallest benefits, that he has been observed, when going to wash himself, to weep, and say: 'I thank Heaven for this water, for it is the blessing of Heaven.'

"Many times when he sat down to his meals he would express his thankfulness, with tears in his eyes, for the goodness of God in providing these temporal blessings for the comfort and support of life. One day he reproved some of the young Believers for their lack of gratitude. He said, 'The sin of ingratitude is a great sin. You eat and drink of these precious things and do not consider from whence they come.' Elder William delighted greatly in singing divine songs, for which he had a remarkable gift. His voice was strong, and his music melodious and powerful; and when under the immediate operation of the power of God, it seemed like the music of some superior being."



"Father James Whittaker was a born preacher, and from early youth his thoughts had been engrossed in spiritual things. He was rather above the common stature, well proportioned in form, of more than ordinary strength for his size, and a man of great activity. His complexion was fair, his eyes black, and his hair of a dark brown color and very straight. He possessed an open, placid countenance mixed with a pleasing gravity that at once evinced the goodness of his heart and the amiable mildness of his disposition. His voice was clear and solid. It was not an uncommon expression among strangers, on hearing him, to say, 'I love to hear that James Whittaker speak.'" [1]

"One Sabbath day when Mother and the Elders were at Harvard, and the Believers all assembled for worship, as they were all sitting in silence, Father James, being under a solemn weight of God, extended both his hands upward and exclaimed, 'Heavens, Heavens, Heavens!'

"Instantly the house was shaken, and the casements clattered as though they had been shaken by a mighty earthquake." [2]

[1] *A Summary View of the Millennial Church.*
[2] *Precepts of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders.*

XIII

THE JOURNEY TO ENFIELD AND BACK

As Mother Ann and the Elders had been warned to leave Harvard, a consultation was held and it was decided that for a short time at least it would be wiser to do so, especially as rumors reached them that a mob was preparing to attack the Square House again.

Accordingly the night after the Square House had been searched for ammunition and firearms, Mother Ann called her followers to take leave of her.

"Mother Ann in taking leave of her children knelt down and spoke to them in a very feeling and affecting manner, manifesting the great concern she felt for their welfare; saying that she would freely lay down her life for them if it would be any gain to them; but that she was called of God to preserve her life and take care of herself for their sakes, and added, 'I should be willing to die, and go to Christ, if you could do without me, but you cannot.' This was a very affecting season to her spiritual children, and caused their tears to flow in abundance.

"Mother, with Mary Partington and the Elders, left the Square House and went to Zaccheus Stephens's. Early the next morning the mob came in great multitudes to the Square House, but not finding Mother Ann and the Elders, they placed an empty barrel before the door, as a stage, on which they placed the brethren and sisters one after another and examined them, but were

still unable to gain any intelligence concerning Mother and the Elders." [1]

Extract from a Harvard Shaker manuscript: —

"Mother and the Elders being continually threatened and abused proceeded to Enfield, Conn., where they arrived about the middle of March. (Probably they visited other places before arriving there.) They tarried a week or ten days, ministering the gifts of God, and strengthening and encouraging the Believers. A mob of about two hundred men was raised and assembled before the house of David Meacham, where Mother then was. Mother and the Elders were ordered to leave the town within one hour; and threatened, in case of disobedience, to carry them off by force. Mother felt it most prudent to leave the place. Father James addressed the mob, and said: 'We came to this place peaceably, to visit our brethren; but since you have judged yourselves unworthy of the Gospel we will go to some other place.' They accordingly withdrew, and the mob followed them to the ferry, which was about eight miles distant. In passing through the town near the river a young American officer sees the rabble, rides up to them and finds out what they are doing, takes his station near Mother's carriage, and followed on to the ferry, with a determination, if possible, to prevent abuse. Having arrived at the ferry, the young man, altogether undaunted at the threatening appearance of the mob, led Mother into the boat, and assured her that she had nothing to fear.

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)

After landing they returned their grateful acknowledgments to the young man who had manifested such kindness to them, though strangers, and had so generously interfered in their behalf as to protect them from the abuse of their enemies. They then separated and the young man went his way. Elijah James, now a merchant in Lansingburg nine miles above Albany, N.Y., was the young officer mentioned above. He was at that time a lieutenant in Col. Sheldon's Regiment of Dragoons in the Revolutionary war, and being then on business that way, he was providentially led through the town just at the time of the above-mentioned occurrence, and was thus made instrumental in protecting Mother from the abuses of a mob. Mother several times mentioned her remarkable deliverance at that time with great thankfulness and said, 'God sent that young man there for my protection. And the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up the flood.'

"Mother and the Elders proceeded up to West Springfield. They then crossed the river at Springfield and went to Kingston, while Brother David Meacham, who had accompanied them from Enfield, returned home after a wagon, to assist them on their journey. They tarried at Scott's tavern in Kingston from Saturday till Monday. Brother David having returned with his wagon, they all proceeded on to Amaziah Clark's in Granby; thence they visited Jonathan Bridge's and some other Believers in Belcher; thence up the river to Peter Bishop's in Montague, — Elder Rufus Bishop's father Peter and his family had embraced the testimony the preceding summer, and being the only family of Be-

lievers in the town, they had many difficulties and much opposition to encounter. This was the time that Abigail Bishop took all the flour she had to make cake for Mother's supper. Mother then said, 'I pray that the morsel of meal may be like the widow's barrel and the cruse of oil that did not fail in time of famine.' Their occupation at Peter's was weaving, coloring, and pressing cloth. Mother and the Elders tarried at Peter's over night; had a comfortable meeting with the family, and then departed. Mother and her company, after leaving Peter's, returned down the river five miles to Sunderland, crossed the river and proceeded on their journey to Asa Bacon's in Ashfield, where they arrived the latter part of March. Here they found a place of retirement from the clamor of riotous mobs, and here they continued about two months without permitting the Believers to visit them very openly. As there were but few Believers in the neighborhood of Ashfield, Mother seldom had occasion to visit, while she remained in that place.

"But a little before her return to Harvard she went to Shelburn, about five miles distant, to visit the family of Jonathan and Aaron Wood. She had frequently been requested by the family, and particularly by Aaron, to come to see them, and had given them some encouragement of coming. She accordingly set off, accompanied by Mary Partington and some of the Elders, and walked there on foot. She came smiling into the house, saying, 'Now Mother is come.' This was a welcome and joyful visit to the family, and especially to good brother Aaron, who loved Mother with all his heart; for she

had often filled him, soul and body, with many powerful gifts of God, and he has not lost the remembrance of them to this day. She tarried several days, blessed the family and returned to Ashfield.

"About the 20th of May they left Ashfield and returned to Harvard, and continued their labors in Harvard, Shirley, and Woburn nearly through the summer, strengthening and encouraging the Believers in these places, as well as those who visited them from more distant places." [1]

When July came the Shakers, having been left in peace for a few weeks, gave themselves up to continuous worship, and again the people of Harvard plotted and planned for some method of driving them from the place. A committee was formed to notify the people of the surrounding towns to meet on the Harvard Common on a certain day and then proceed to the Shaker Village and compel the Believers to leave for good and all. Phineas Fairbanks, who was the first deacon of the Presbyterian Church, did his best to excite the feelings of the multitude by placing two barrels of cider on the Common where all could get a drink. The men became very much exhilarated, and gave out such violent threats of what they would do that the ministers of Harvard and other towns begged them to allow them to interview the Shakers first. The crowd had no objection to this, as they were in the midst of imbibing the cider. Accordingly four ministers went to the Square House to interview Mother Ann and the Elders. They were allowed to enter

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

the house, and Labdiel Adams, who was the minister at Lunenburg, asked if they could put a few questions.

"Yea, any civil questions," replied Elder James.

"Are you willing to take up arms against Britain?"

"I never killed a creature with a gun in my life," said Father William.

"Are you friends to America?"

"Yea, we are friends to all the souls of men," replied Elder James; and then he went on to explain that they had nothing to do with the war, and that it was against their religion to take the life of any living creature. "But," he said, "we will fight your enemy, and the enemy of all mankind, that is, the Devil."

Whereupon he burst into song in order to avoid further questionings, and there being a number of the Believers present who joined in, they continued for some time.

The ministers were somewhat disconcerted at this, especially as Elder James stopped his singing in order to ask them to stop and dine. This they refused to do. As they left the Square House one of the ministers named Parker, turned to Labdiel Adams and asked him what he thought of the Shakers. "I think," said Labdiel, "the people better let them alone; — that Whittaker is a sharp man."

When they gave this advice to the mob who were waiting for them on the Common, it created much confusion, and some of the men excitedly called out to proceed to the Square House without delay. The town offi-

cers, becoming alarmed, began to write down the names of those present, and this caused a panic and the mob dispersed. Some men persisted in going to the Square House, but fearing that their names were recorded they did not attempt any violence.

The Shakers rejoiced exceedingly over what they knew to have been a great escape, and proceeded to give thanks with a loud voice.[1]

No sooner was one nerve-racking experience successfully dealt with, however, than another followed close upon its heels. The strain was becoming very great on Mother Ann, and when news came to the Square House of the probable coming of another mob, it was thought best to take her somewhere that she might escape it. Accordingly the Elders informed the host of Believers at the Square House that they would go to Littleton where Mother Ann might get a little rest.

"But before they departed the brethren and sisters assembled together to take their leave of them, and to renew the bonds of filial love to their blessed Parents in the Gospel. Being assembled together, they all kneeled down and wept bitterly, and prayed for the safe protection of their blessed Mother and Elders. Here they received and felt Mother's blessing. She spoke to them and said, 'Brethren and Sisters, be comfortable; my spirit shall be with you.' After the Elders had mounted their horses to go, there came some Believers from a

[1] An account of this is in the *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.) *Precepts of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders.* (1888.)

distance. Mother and the Elders stopped a while with them and the two Elders alighted from their horses, kneeled down upon the ground, and cried to God in very powerful and affecting manner. Then, mounting their horses again, they set off on Friday, the 16th of August, leaving Elder Hocknell to take care of the people, and went to Abel Jewett's in Littleton. The next day they proceeded to Nathan Kendall's in Woburn, and thus escaped the cruel rage of their persecutors. The Sabbath following, the Believers in general from Harvard and the neighboring towns assembled at the Square House to hold their public worship. These, together with the distant Believers, formed a large assembly, who all went forth with great zeal, and worshipped God in singing, dancing, leaping, shouting, clapping of hands, and such other exercises as they were led into by the spirit. The power of God manifested in this meeting in visible operations was so mighty that it shook, not the Believers only, but the spectators who attended with them, so that when the Believers kneeled, they kneeled also. But the sound of this meeting, though joyful to the Believers, was terrible to the wicked, for the sound thereof was heard at the distance of several miles." [1]

[1] Harvard manuscript.

XIV

DRIVING THE OUT-OF-TOWN SHAKERS FROM HARVARD

THE following account of the attempt on the part of the people of Harvard to drive the Shakers out of the township is signed by three men who were, among the rest, subjects of the persecution — Abijah Worster, Richard Treat, Isaac Crouch, and others.

"The Believers having spent the day and the evening, to a very late hour, in various exercises of the spirit, the meeting was dismissed. Those who belonged in the neighborhood returned to their homes, and a number of the distant Believers went with them. Early in the morning of the 19th of August, 1782, while it was yet dark, the mob began to assemble around the Square House; their noise alarmed the people within, some of whom supposed them to be a company of Indians. An aged brother soon opened the door, and some of them came in, and in a very rough manner manifested their determination. Two of them went upstairs in search of Mother and the Elders and were vexed at not finding them. Lucy Wright went and spoke to them and endeavored to calm their ferocious spirits, but they refused to hear her, and threatened to pitch her, headlong, downstairs. Lucy Wright understanding their object, and considering her horse was at Shirley, and being unable to take her journey on foot, went down with

Mary Partington, and each took a milk pail, as though they were going to milking; passed through the mob, and went to the barn, where they left their pails and took their flight across the fields to Solomon Cooper's, and so escaped the mob.

"Messengers were immediately despatched to acquaint the neighboring Believers, who soon repaired to the scene of action. When they arrived they found a large company of men in front of the house, armed with whips, cudgels, etc., and their numbers rapidly increasing. As the brethren and sisters collected, they went into the house. It was judged there were about four hundred of the mob. All was yet silent between the parties. Elder Hocknell now gave orders for all the Believers to assemble in one large room. When assembled, the room was full from end to end, excepting a narrow alley between the brethren and sisters. He then desired them all to kneel down and pray to God for His protection in such a trying time as this. Accordingly they all fell upon their knees and cried earnestly to God.

"The mob no sooner discovered that the Believers were on their knees than they rushed upon the doors which were shut and barred, burst them open, and began to seize upon the brethren and sisters as they were on their knees. Richard Treat, being next to the door, was the first who fell into their hands. They seized him by the collar with such rage and fury that they nearly severed it from his shirt. Thus they seized one after another, some by their collars, some by their throats, and some by the hair of their heads, and whereever they clinched, they kept hold, until they dragged

the person out of the room, through the entry, and out at the outer door on to the doorsteps; then they were delivered up to the party without.

"In this manner the brethren and sisters were seized indiscriminately, without any resistance, and dragged out, with as little humanity as ravenous wolves would drag out harmless sheep from the fold.

"In the mean time Elder Hocknell passed out undiscovered through the mob and leaped over the fence into the garden, where he kneeled down under some peach trees and cried to God to know what he should do.

"Suddenly the power of God fell upon him, and stretched out his hand toward the east. He immediately followed its direction, which led him to Mother Ann and he informed her of these things.

"The Believers being surrounded by the mob, orders were given that all who lived in the vicinity should return immediately home and that the distant Believers should leave the town and never be seen there again, and one hour was allowed them to prepare and eat their breakfast and make ready for their journey. If any of the Believers attempted to address the mob with a view to cooling their rage, they were immediately answered by a stroke over the head with a whip or cudgel.

"At the expiration of the hour they were ordered to march. The sisters were permitted to ride, but the brethren were forbidden, though many of them had horses with them. About one half the mob formed the advance guard; the Believers in a body were placed next, and the remainder of the mob brought up the rear.

"The brethren who belonged in and about Harvard

were determined to follow their distant Brethren and Sisters, notwithstanding the orders of the mob to the contrary.[1]

"The mob, being nearly all on horseback, compelled the Believers to advance with speed. If any who were aged and infirm did not travel as fast as their drivers thought proper, their pace was soon quickened by a severe stroke of a whip or cudgel. If any one attempted to admonish them for their cruelty, the lash, or cudgel over his head, face, and eyes soon convinced him of the danger of admonishing an unprincipled mob. Numbers of brethren found, by sad experience during the day, that it was vain to attempt to moderate the fierceness of their cruelty. Soon after the procession began, one of the brethren — Dyer Fitch — for praying to God was cruelly beaten over his face and head and commanded to hold his tongue. Dyer replied, 'I will not; I will cry to God if you kill me.' They continued beating and repeating the command, and Dyer continued to make the same reply, for some time. Thus they proceeded. As they were crossing Jeremiah Willard's pasture, Abijah Worster and another brother came up, and Abijah, seeing James Shepherd, immediately clasped him in his arms, at which one of the mob rode up and struck Abijah over his head with a good staff. Abijah was then put under a guard, who was ordered to keep him safe and take him along with the rest.

"They drove on about three miles till they came to a level, open plain near Still River, where they were

[1] A list of the leaders of the mob is here mentioned, but out of respect for the feelings of their descendants the names are withheld.

ordered to halt. 'Now,' said the leaders of the mob, 'we will have a little diversion,' and orders were given for James Shepherd to be soundly whipped. James was the only person whom they had taken of those who came from England, and against whom their enmity was the most pointedly levelled; and as they had been disappointed of taking Mother Ann and the Elders, they resolved to wreak their vengeance on his back, and whip him for all the rest. They accordingly formed a ring, and sent one of the mob into the bushes to cut sticks for the purpose. He soon returned with his arms full, and distributed them among the company appointed to whip him, and each one was appointed to give him a certain number of strokes. James was then ordered to strip and accordingly pulled off his coat and jacket, and kneeling down he said, 'Be of good cheer, brethren; for it is your Heavenly Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.'

"On hearing these words, without waiting for orders, X—— gave him a number of severe strokes with his horsewhip. Just at this instant Eleazer Rand and Jonathan Slosson arrived; and Eleazer, seeing these strokes, suddenly leaped on to James's back. This increased the rage of the mob to such a degree that they beat on with their clubs, canes, and whips, and then laid hold of him to pull him off; but he held on so fast that they drew him and James some distance before they broke his hold; others of the brethren followed Eleazer's example, to cover James and each other from the blows, till they were all in a huddle.

"Eleazer often repeating the words, 'O Lord,' was

seized by the collar by X——, who shook him severely, and commanded him to hold his tongue. Eleazer replied, 'I won't hold my tongue, I will pray.' Upon this the ruffian shook him, and drove his fist against his neck till he drove him several rods, repeating the same command and receiving the same answer. He then hurled him against a stone wall and returned to the mob. One man called out, 'Did you stop the little dog from praying?' 'No,' replied the other, 'nor I could not unless I had killed him.'

"William Morey, of Norton, at that time a zealous Believer, testified with great boldness against such acts of cruelty, and sharply reproved the leaders of the mob for their abusive conduct, declaring that the judgments of God would follow them for these things. One of the mob, enraged at this, came to him, and with his clenched fist, struck him on the side of his face with such violence that he knocked out several of his teeth, and wounded him in his cheek and jaw in such a manner that he bled excessively. But William still continued to bear testimony against their wickedness; though in consequence of his severe wound, he was not able to speak plainly.

"Orders were now given to march, and the Believers were again arranged according to the dictates of the mob, and driven on with greater vehemence than before, being continually abused by their merciless drivers all the way until they came to the division line which separates Harvard from Bolton, and which is about six miles from the Square House. Some of the Harvard brethren, who had been kept back by the mob, made a little halt in the road before the house of Zaccheus Stevens, which

was near the line. A number of sisters being at Zaccheus's in much tribulation, one of them — Hannah Prescott — came to the door weeping, and said, 'Brethren, don't go back.' The brethren replied they were determined to go with their distant brethren as far as the mob went. 'Do,' said Hannah, 'I would die with them rather than leave them with that wicked mob.' They accordingly followed on till they came to the division line. Here the mob placed a strong guard to prevent the brethren of Harvard from going any further, and sternly forbade their passing the line. But the brethren being determined still to go on, cried out, 'Are you highway robbers? We have as good a right to the highway as you have, and we will not trust our distant brethren with you, we will go as far with them as you do.' 'If you attempt it,' said one of the leaders, 'we will spill your blood in the sand.' Notwithstanding these threats, the brethren proceeded, but were inhumanly beaten with clubs by the mob. Eleazer Rand had the bone of his arm split, and a number of the brethren received very severe bruises. Suddenly the club in the hands of one of the leaders flew backwards out of his grasp, and this strange occurrence terrified those near him so that they turned and fled before the brethren, who were then able to go forward and join the rest of the Believers.

"From the place where the mob halted to whip James Shepard, to Lancaster, a distance of seven miles, was one continued scene of cruelty and abuse; whipping with horsewhips, pounding, beating, and bruising with clubs, collaring and pushing off from bridges into the water and mud, scaring the sisters' horses with a view to

frightening the riders, and every kind of abuse they could invent without taking lives; indeed, it seemed almost miraculous that none lost their lives from such cruel and inhuman abuses. One of the brethren in the rear — Jonathan Bridges — for not going as fast as they chose, was cruelly whipped almost every step nearly the distance of a quarter of a mile. The brethren at length became weary and out of breath. Some of the aged and infirm ventured to mount their horses for relief; immediately some one of this persecuting rabble would ride up to them and with the butt of a whip-stalk, or large cudgel, would soon hurry them down from their horses.

"William Morey, after being severely wounded, mounted his horse to ride, but was soon pulled off; he again renewed the attempt a number of times, but was pushed or beaten off every time. One aged man mounted his horse and rode some distance before the mob could attend to him. This enraged them so that they could not be satisfied to punish him with the weapons they had in possession, therefore, one of them took a rail from the fence and beat him off his horse, by which means the old man narrowly escaped being killed.

"When they arrived at Lancaster, the leaders of the mob, after consulting together, dismissed the distant Believers, with this injunction, namely, that they should never again be seen in Harvard; and if any of them should be seen there again any of the party then present should have full power to tie them up and whip them without judge or jury. 'But,' added they, 'we have a further work to do with the Harvard Shakers.'

"After this dismissal, the brethren and sisters, feeling the need of some refreshment, gathered under a large, shady elm to eat some bread and cheese which some of the brethren from Harvard had provided for them. Here they all kneeled down and gave thanks to God that they were accounted worthy to suffer persecution for the testimony of the Gospel. This so provoked the mob that they again rushed in among them, some on horseback and some on foot, and again began the horrid scene of beating. Here they vented their malignity without regard to age or sex; lashing and beating both brethren and sisters over their heads and faces seemingly with as little feeling as though they had been a herd of swine. Some were beaten and bruised, others were pushed over as they stood on their knees. One of the sisters had her head pulled back in such a manner that she was nearly strangled; her face turned black, and it was with much difficulty that she recovered her breath again. When the mob had sufficiently exercised their cruelty in this manner, they left them. After taking an affectionate leave of their Harvard brethren, the company of distant Believers went on their journey. They had not advanced more than twenty rods, when they were met by a large, rough-looking man who had placed himself in the road with a long horsewhip, to give them the last stroke. With this he lashed severely every one that he could get at till they were out of his reach. Richard Treat, who relates this circumstance, says these strokes felt more painful to his back than any he received in the course of the day. Passing this man, they proceeded on their journey, and the brethren who belonged in and about

Harvard returned with the mob, and some of them were much abused on their way back. One of the leaders of the mob, a violent persecutor, with the butt of a large, loaded whip-stalk, having the lash wound round his hand, beat several of the brethren with all his strength, particularly Jonathan Clark, an aged brother from Harvard. After the mob entered Harvard on their return, still having Abijah Worster under guard, they stopped at Captain Pollard's, near Zaccheus Stevens's, and formed a ring. Then, charging Abijah with going about breaking up churches and families, they declared he should be whipped and the mob voted as to which two would be the whippers.

"The next thing was to decide upon the number of stripes to be given; and after several nominations it was settled, by vote, that twenty should be the number. Then stripping him and tying him to a tree the first one appointed laid on his number. At this time, James Haskell, a respectable man of 'the world,' rode up, and seeing what was going on, dismounted his horse, and stripping off his coat, cried out, 'Here, here, if there are any more stripes to be given, let me take the rest.' On hearing these words from Haskell, the mob seemed struck with fear, and immediately released Abijah and let him go.

"Having put on his garments, he began to sing, and went on singing all the way to Zaccheus Stevens's. But some who made no profession of faith were, nevertheless, so affected with Abijah's sufferings that they went home weeping.

"The mob, having spent the day, and with it their

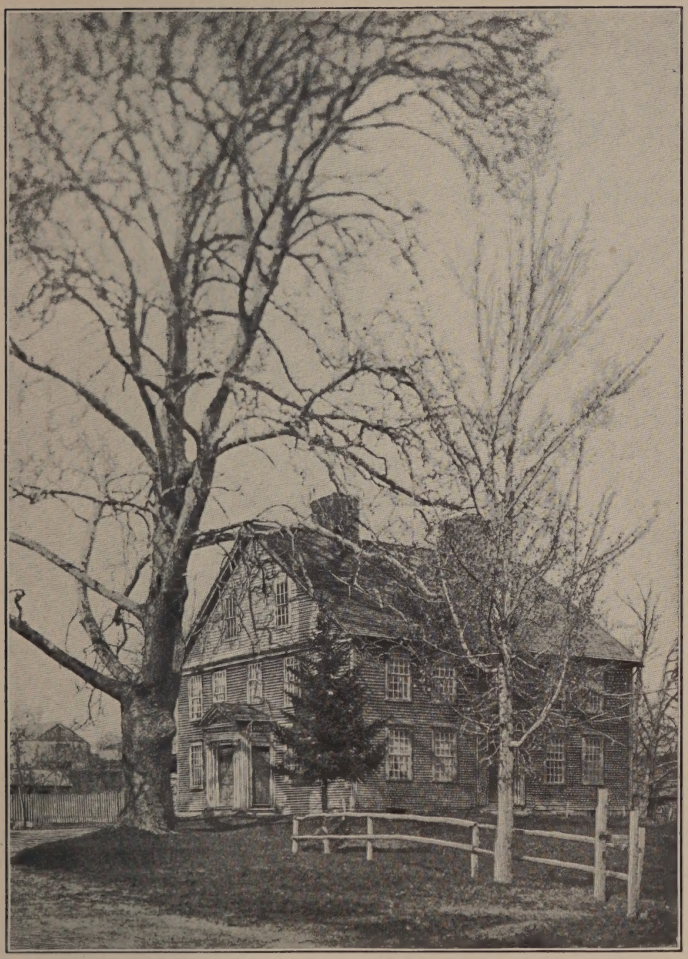
strength, in doing evil, now returned home. Some of the town's people who had not been engaged in this persecuting business were much displeased with these proceedings.

"It is worthy of remark that, not only in Harvard, but through the whole course of ten miles through which the Believers were driven, there were many people who were greatly dissatisfied with the abusive conduct of the mob. Many on the road remonstrated against their cruelty; but were generally answered with cursings and threats from the mob to serve them in the same manner.

"It ought also to be remarked, that the conduct and testimony of the Believers, while on the road, had a tendency to exasperate the Devil, and excite his emissaries to greater acts of cruelty than they probably would have committed had the Believers remained silent. But most of the Believers were very young in the faith; many of them had believed but a few months, and were full of zeal and power, and being divested of all fear of man, they would sing and praise God on the road, that they were counted worthy to suffer persecution for the Gospel's sake.

"And again, when the mob attempted to whip and beat one, others would cry out, 'Don't whip him, if you must whip anybody, whip me,' and immediately throw themselves in the way to take the blows. Such genuine marks of Christianity were too much for the seed of Cain to endure.

"Others would reprove and admonish them for their cruelty, telling them that the judgments of God would certainly follow them for these things. This was only



THE HOUSE OF THADDEUS POLLARD

It was to this old tree that the mob tied Abijah Worster, and beat him, on the memorable day when they drove the distant Shakers out of the town of Harvard

answered by a repetition of profane curses, and greater abuse. But these predictions were evidently fulfilled; the judgments of God did follow those persecutors in a remarkable manner. Many of them, who were men of respectable standing in the town of Harvard, and in affluent circumstances, fell under judgments — ran out their estates, and came to poverty and beggary; and a blast among their persecutors was so general and so manifest, that men of candor and observation said, 'Those Shakers drivers are all coming to nothing.'

(Signed) "ABIJAH WORSTER.
"RICHARD TREAT.
"ISAAC CROUCH, *and others*."

XV

VISIT TO THE HARVARD SHAKERS IN 1782 BY GOVERNOR PLUMMER OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

DURING the summer of 1782 many were drawn to the Square House from curiosity as well as from spiritual leanings. Among others was a young man named William Plummer, who started his career as a preacher, but at the age of twenty-five changed his profession to the study of law, and in 1785 was chosen to the New Hampshire Legislature from Epping where he owned a farm. He became Governor of the State, and afterwards went to the United States Senate for six years. In letters written to Miss Lydia Coombs, of Newburyport, he relates his impressions of a visit to the Harvard Shakers. It must be remembered that he was only a visitor, and therefore only saw the surface of things. But as he wrote his experience there, his account is interesting from "the world's" standpoint.

"They are very kind and attentive to strangers," he writes, "so long as they have any prospect of converting them to their faith; but as soon as a man contradicts or asks questions hard to answer, they become sullen — pronounce him 'damned' and avoid his company. . . . They appeared very sober, serious, grave and solemn; honest and sincere in their profession; and in general much acquainted with the Scriptures.

"Before and after their eating, going to and returning from their beds, each of them falls on his knees, shaking, trembling, groaning, praying, and praising. They affirm that they have the gift of discerning and gift of prophecy, and have in fact predicted many things with their contingent circumstances, long before these happened. Their dress is simple, plain, and unadorned. The men have their hair short, and the women and children all wear strapped close caps.

"They say that Christ promised to give his church in all ages the power of working miracles; and that in fact they have healed the sick, cured cripples, and restored speech to the dumb. These mighty works were instantaneously effected by their praying and anointing the diseased with oil in the name of the Lord — the patients having faith in God. On my expressing a desire to be present on such an occasion, one of their Elders very sternly replied, 'An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; but no sign shall be given unto you.' They generally assemble every evening, and frequently continue their exercises till after midnight. I went with them one evening to their meeting, and though they had cautioned me against being surprised at their worship, yet their conduct was so wild and extravagant that it was some time before I could believe my own senses. About thirty of them assembled in a large room in a private house — the women in one and the men in the other — for dancing. Some were past sixty years old. Some had their eyes steadily fixed upwards, continually reaching out and drawing in their arms, and lifting up first one foot and then the other, about four inches

from the floor. Near the centre of the room stood two young women, one of them very handsome, who whirled round and round for the space of fifteen minutes, nearly as fast as the rim of a spinning wheel in quick motion. . . .

"Sometimes one would pronounce with a loud voice, 'Ho, ho,' or 'Love, love' — then the whole assembly vehemently clapped hands for a minute or two. . . . At other times the whole assembly would shout as with one accord.[1] This exercise continued about an hour; then they all retired to the sides of the room for a few minutes. Then the young woman who was the principal whirler walked into the middle of the room and began to dance. All the men and women soon joined her — dancing, singing, whirling, shouting, clapping their hands, shaking and trembling, as at first. This continued near an hour.[2]

"After a second intermission two of the Elders, one after the other, addressed the audience; one of them delivering a very ingenious discourse in defense of their tenets and worship, with an exhortation to persevere in the ways of the Lord. He was a man of strong, clear, distinguishing mind, and an easy yet impressive speaker. More than half of his discourse was in the strong persuasive language of the Scriptures.[3]

"Then the assembly renewed their former exercises

[1] "It came even to pass as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make *one* sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord." (2 Chron., v, 13.)

[2] "Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance; the young men and old together."

[3] This must have been Elder James.

for more than an hour. This done, several of the young people, both men and women, began to shake and tremble in a most terrible manner. The first I perceived was their heads moving slowly from one shoulder to the other — the longer they moved, the quicker and more violently they shook. The motion proceeded from the head to the hands, arms, and whole body, with such power as if limb would rend from limb. The house trembled as if there were an earthquake." [1]

[1] From the *Plummer Papers*. This account appeared in the *New England Magazine*, May, 1900, in an article by F. B. Sanborn.

XVI

A RESPITE AT THE SQUARE HOUSE

Now, while the exaltation of the Shakers at the Square House increased in proportion to the fierce opposition which every day became more intense, Mother Ann was faltering a little under the strain. At one moment she would be more vibrant than ever in her appeal to her followers, and the next she would be overcome with the tremendous task of giving permanence to the religion which she had brought among them. Her keen intuition told her that this would require an ability which she did not possess, handicapped as she was by her utter lack of training and education. Pondering over this she said one day: "It will not be my lot, nor the lot of any one who came with me from England to gather and build up the church"; and she added, "It will not be my nation, nor any of those who came with me from England, who will lead this people, but the lead will be given to Joseph Meacham." From this time on she put her hopes for the future on him. He was a man of real executive ability, and he and his people were all devout Shakers. At another time she said: "Joseph Meacham is my first-born son in America. He will gather the church in order, but I shall not live to see it." Pursuing the thought further, she added, "When order comes to be established it will then be seen and known, who are true Believers." [1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

Another idea took a strong hold upon her at this time. The great ordeal through which she had passed and which she was forced to meet day after day was little by little wearing away her strength. She knew that flesh and blood must at last succumb under the persecutions to which she was subjected. Hannah Goodrich recorded this of her: —

"Sometimes Mother Ann would be taken under great sufferings, so that it would seem as though her life must go from her; — at other times she was filled with unspeakable joy and triumph, and would say, 'I feel as terrible as an army with banners,' ; and then her mood would change again as she added, 'The way of God will grow straighter and straighter; so straight that if you go one hair's breadth out of the way you will be lost.'"

Eliphalet Slossen records the following: —

"One day as Mother was walking the floor, and singing the melodious songs of the New Jerusalem, she turned to the people and said, 'I feel a special gift of God; I feel the power of God running all over me'; and stretching forth her hands toward the southwest, she said, 'The next opening of the gospel will be in the southwest; it will be at a great distance; and there will be a great work of God'; and looking at me she added, 'You may live to see it, but I shall not.'

"Shortly after this she remarked: 'I feel the blood of Christ running through my soul and washing me. Him I acknowledge as my Head and Lord.'

"One morning Mother raised her window, and look-

ing out said, 'I have had new fruit to eat this morning, such as I never had before. I am full. Like a vessel that is ready to burst my soul is running over! O that souls would come and partake!' [1]

"At this time Mother also had many visions. Her overwrought condition made her peculiarly susceptible not only to the impressions of the moment, but to those of the past and future as well. She frequently spoke of Shadrack Ireland and his life in the Square House. Once, in the presence of Father William and Joseph Meacham, Sr., she said: 'Shadrack Ireland has been to see me [alluding to his spirit], and I made labors with him, but he would not believe, therefore he was left to feel hell; and souls in that state were frightened at him, because his sufferings were so much greater than theirs. But he will never be released until some of his people find redemption.' "

It was no unusual thing for Mother Ann to speak of conversing with hosts of disembodied spirits. Frequently she would tell of her visions. One day she said: —

"I have seen the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles; I have conversed with them, and I know them. I have seen King David, with his robes on, which were of vast extent and inexpressibly glorious. I have seen Job, St. Paul, and others." [2]

At other times she would preach prudence and econ-

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.) *Precepts of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders.* (1888.)

[2] Recorded by David Slosson.

omy to them, and dwell upon the sin of wastefulness. Abigail Cook records: —

"I have many times seen her, after the people have been eating, go and gather up the fragments, pick the bones, and collect the little slops of broth into one dish, and make her meal of these, and say, 'It is good, it is the blessing of God, and should not be lost.'"

And here must be inserted some recollections of Sister Jemima Blanchard concerning Mother Ann and the Elders: —

"Mother taught us to look cheerful and pleasant, and not be of a sad countenance. She would say, 'Be solemn, yet joyful, as having nothing, yet possessing all things!'

"Mother herself always looked pleasant, though when she sorrowed it was enough to pierce one's heart to see her, yet she never looked sad; even when reproving with the greatest severity, she wore a sweet and heavenly smile.

"One time when I went to the Square House Mother met me at the door and took hold of my hand, then turned from me long enough for me to take off my things. She then took me by the hand and walked. She opened the door of the room now occupied by the brethren, then the kitchen door, then the cellar, then walked to the room where the people were assembled in meeting; then walked back and forth in the hall, several times. All this time she spoke not a word; at last she stopped about the middle of the hall, and taking both of my hands within hers, she raised them up and stood

some time with her eyes fixed as if in prayer. She then repeated these words, 'Another day,' several times, in a very solemn manner. I never had any idea of what was meant by this gift, until one night, when I was staying with Mother Hannah Kendall in her sickness. It then came into my mind that Mother was in a labor concerning my being one to administer to the wants and share in the suffering of the leader on earth, and that she then saw that it would not be in her day, but in a day to come. I mentioned my impressions to Mother Hannah and she said she did not doubt it was as I thought.

"In meeting at the Square House Mother went to the south door, and extending her arms to the southwest she said, 'The next opening of the gospel will be in the southwest.' Father James then went and stood by her and said, 'I hear singing.' Mother asked, 'Where?' He said 'In the southwest; and sometimes it seems very near, and again it seems a thousand miles off.' I have heard Mother say that she used to have visions of heavenly things, and see beautiful colors when a child, and that she used to dread to have her mother get up in the morning, lest she should open the windows and let them out. I heard her say that she used to be taken into the spiritual world and she observed that the Prophets and Apostles looked after her very wishfully, and she wondered at it. This last expression never came to my mind until I heard Mother Ann's sufferings as written here by inspiration, when it came fresh to my recollection. One time I stopped with one of my companions, when going from meeting, to pick a few whortleberries. Mother sent one of the family to charge us not to pick on any one's

land but our own, without their knowledge and consent.

"When Mother first came here she had twisted strings in her cap, yet she looked very neat. Some one got some tape for her which she liked, but frequently, when any one offered her anything, she would seem to be in a labor to know if it was right for her to have it, though she always appeared grateful for a kindness. The world used to notice the grateful and respectful manners of Mother and the Elders, how they would show respect and gratitude for the smallest favors. For instance, if any one picked up a pocket handkerchief for them, or the like, they would turn around and thank the person, in a very respectful manner. I have many times heard Father William sing about his mother. He would say, 'I bless God for my mother. How could I be born without a mother,' etc. This was only when he felt a special gift. Then he would sometimes go out of doors, and his voice would seem to fill the air.

"We could hear his voice and the words distinctly at the South House from the Square House. I heard Father William speak of the Kendalls as being examples of modesty and plainness in dress. It was the fashion to wear very short gowns when the Believers came here, and we continued to wear ours so, but the Kendall girls made theirs longer which pleased Mother and the Elders, and they told us we might take example by them, that they dressed as well as any people they had seen in this country.

"One day, while I was staying at the Square House, Father William and Father James were going to Shirley,

and wanted to start before dinner, so they asked the kitchen sisters to give them something to eat, as they should not want to call for dinner there. They had some potatoes, and they set them on the dresser, and put on some butter; this was the second day it had happened just so. Father James was very fond of potatoes and butter, and when the butter was brought on he said in a very solemn manner, 'What, potatoes and butter for dinner two days going, will that do for me?' They were very particular in general to eat such as the rest had. When they went a-visiting they would allow people to get them one extra meal as for any company; but where they stayed from day to day if the kitchen sisters got anything better for them than the rest had (it was not always as good, for they were generally among the last who ate), Father James would say: 'What did you make of my word?' — after having told them that they chose to fare like the rest! This would be said in a manner and with a feeling which we dare not disregard, but I used to feel bad because we could not have them fare any better. There used to be many more to eat there than could sit down to the table at one time, so they used to eat very quick and then others would come and sit down in their places without changing plates, knives, or forks, unless strangers were to eat, in which case we set a clean table for them. One time at the South House some one helped Father William to some sweet sauce for pudding. Father James did not eat pudding, and Mother said Father William might have another plate.

"Father James would sometimes pray aloud where there were young Believers about, for the purpose (I

thought) of teaching them how to pray and give thanks to God. Father James used to pity me for being bashful. Phebe, my sister, was not bashful. Father noticed it and said *she* was not troubled with bashfulness, but he used to be, and he knew how to pity bashful people. Father James seemed to have more releasement in spirit than Father William, but when Father William was released from sufferings his spirit was so powerful that we could feel his power as far as we could see him." [1]

So great was the confidence that Mother Ann inspired in her followers that they left everything to her judgment without question. It was therefore with a quiet mind that Elder James would slip away to the little room on the south side of the Square House, at the end of the hall, where he had set up his weaver's loom, and there enjoy a peaceful hour making cloth.

"Beulah Cooper used to spin in the room where Father James wove at the Square House. He bought a web and wove it while there. He used to talk with her about Daniel Wood's followers (a New Light preacher) and would laugh and be quite pleased at her relation of them. She knit a pair of long stockings for Father; he told her he was not particular, all he wanted was that they should exactly fit him.

"And Father William who had been a blacksmith would repair to the 'village smithy,' with his horse, and try his strength with the anvil and make the sparks fly as each blow fell in rhythm under the direction of his powerful arm.

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

"One time while living in Harvard he went into the shop and wanted his horse shod; and told the man that he could do it himself, if he could have a fire. The man consented, and Father went to work and made a shoe at two heats, creased and punched it. After he had got his horse shod, he asked the man what there was to pay; he said, 'Nothing,' and added, 'if a man could work like that, it was pay enough to see him work, — and he would not charge him anything.'" [1]

But there was very little time for the indulgence of such peaceful occupations. Mother Ann felt impelled to preach her gospel wherever her followers had collected, and just now she felt a call to go and hold a meeting with her flock in Shirley. Consequently she notified Elijah Wilds, a faithful follower, that she and the Elders and some of her Harvard brethren and sisters as well, would arrive at his house on Sabbath day, June 1, and hold a meeting that evening. It was with a certain amount of misgiving that they started forth, owing to the recent persecution to which they had been subjected, but Mother Ann was wont to meet her enemies face to face, and this principle she instilled so emphatically into the hearts of her followers that they gladly suppressed all fear, and went forth with her to meet whatever was to befall them with unflinching determination and valor.

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

XVII

THE MOB AT ELIJAH WILDS'S

MOTHER ANN and her little band of followers arrived at the house of Elijah Wilds in Shirley without mishap of any kind, and this gave them great encouragement, and they were greeted with joy by the Believers who had already gathered at the house prior to their arrival. When the hour came to hold the meeting they entered into their worship with especial fervor, happy at having been spared a repetition of the scenes lately enacted.

But no sooner had they reached the stage where the thoughts of the world were dropping from the mind, one by one, and giving place to the ecstasy of the spirit, than the ominous sound of innumerable voices reached them, growing louder and louder as each moment passed. Before any preparations could be made, the mob was surging around the house demanding admittance, being led by the same men of Harvard who had persecuted them the day they drove the distant Believers out of town.

One of the sisters named Molly Randall made the pretext that she must return to her home to nurse her child, and the mob reluctantly allowed her to depart, but forbade any one attempting to follow her.

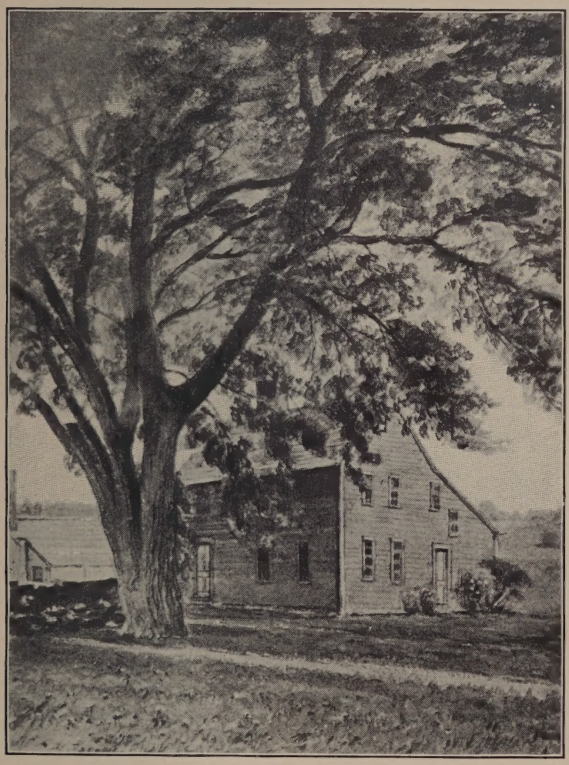
"Having got home, she immediately despatched a messenger to acquaint the grand juryman of the town of the situation of the Shakers. The mob continued to sur-

round the house all night, with much railing and savage behavior; but committed no personal injury until the next morning.

"In the morning the leaders of the mob required Mother Ann and the Elders to come out, which they refused to do; but they consented that the four leaders might come into the house, and they accordingly came in. Mother ordered Eunice Wilds to prepare some breakfast for them, saying, 'We must feed our enemies and so heap coals of fire on their heads.' Eunice prepared breakfast, and they sat down and ate. Elijah, by Mother's advice, carried bread and cheese to the mob without, and the chief part of them ate freely.

"After this Elder James said, 'I must go and speak the word of the Lord to them'; and accordingly went out with some of the brethren, and spake to them. He questioned them very solemnly concerning such riotous proceedings, and said: 'Why have you come here to abuse us? What have we done? Have we hurt or injured your persons or property? If we have, make us sensible of it, and we will make you satisfaction.' After these words the mob broke forth in a rage, and seized Elder James by the collar and arms; at which the brethren instantly stepped forward to rescue him from their merciless hands; and in the struggle he cried out, 'Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' It appeared as though he would have been choked to death had not one of the brethren named Nathan Kendall, Jr., unclinched the ruffian's hands.

"About this time, Thomas Buckmour, the grand juryman of the town, and James Parker, a peace officer,



ELIJAH WILDS'S HOUSE AT SHIRLEY, WHERE THE MOB ATTACKED THE SHAKERS

arrived, and these immediately commanded peace, and ordered the mob to desist from troubling the people. This seemed to strike a damp upon them; but still the tumult continued, and the mob continued to increase from Harvard. A number of the brethren and sisters, being at this time in the road, kneeled down to pray, at which some of these ungodly ruffians who were on horseback attempted to ride over them, but were not able.

"After several hours' contest with the Believers and with the peace officers, the leaders of the mob, whose object was to carry off Mother and the Elders, consented to give up their lawful demands upon the following conditions; namely, that if the two Elders, William Lee and James Whittaker, would go back with them to Harvard, they would leave Mother Ann, and withdraw in a peaceable manner; that they would treat the Elders with kindness and civility, and that they should not be hurt. This they promised upon their honor; and upon these conditions the Elders consented to go with them. They set off, accompanied by Brothers David Meacham, Calvin Harlow, and a number of other Believers, from different parts. Soon after they entered Harvard, the mob broke forth in a violent and savage manner, and commanded Brothers David and Calvin, and all the rest of the Believers who accompanied them, to return back to Shirley. They all obeyed this tyrannical order, except Brothers David and Calvin, who resolutely withstood them, and refused to return.

"Upon this they seized Brother David's horse by the bridle, and held him. He instantly leaped from his horse, told them he had a right to the highway, and if they

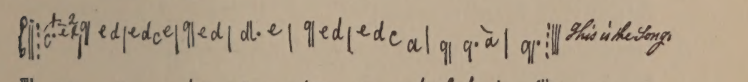
attempted to stop him, they should, every soul of them, suffer the penalty of the law; that Brother Calvin was his companion, and he should go too. Thus they broke through the mob, and followed after the Elders. The Elders, being mounted on good horses, outrode the mob, and arrived at Jeremiah Willard's before them. Jeremiah, who then professed faith, sat in the door of his house to keep the mob from entering. But instead of regarding his order, as a ruler of his own house, or respecting the laws of civil society, they violently drew him feet foremost out of the house, with his head thumping against the steps that led up to the door. They then broke into the chamber, and furiously dragged the Elders out, and carried them back about half a mile where they met the main body of the mob.

"Here they made a stand to execute their savage designs, and said, 'James Whittaker and William Lee shall be tied to a tree and whipped.' But before they began their scourging they laid violent hands upon David Meacham and Calvin Harlow, threw them to the ground and held them fast, until their barbarous deed was accomplished. They then seized Elder James, tied him to the limbs of a tree, near the road, cut some sticks from the bushes, and began the cruel work, and continued beating and scourging till his back was all in a gore of blood, and the flesh bruised to a jelly. They then untied him, and seized Father William Lee, but he chose to kneel down and be whipped, therefore they did not tie him; but began to whip him as he stood on his knees. Notwithstanding the severity of the scourging which Elder James had already received, he immediately

leaped upon Father William's back. Bethiah Willard, who had followed from Jeremiah's, leaped upon Elder James's back; others who came with Bethiah followed the same example. But such marks of genuine Christianity only tended the more to enrage these savage persecutors, and those who attempted to manifest their love and charity in this manner were beaten without mercy.

"Bethiah Willard was so cruelly beaten, she carried the scars until death. She received one stroke over her head and face, which in a few minutes caused one of her eyes to turn entirely black. Calvin Harlow, on seeing Bethiah, said to the mob, 'See how you have abused that woman; you have exposed yourselves to the law.' On hearing this they began to disperse and were soon gone, leaving the suffering objects of their cruelty to take care of themselves. During these inhuman transactions, Mother Ann and Hannah Kendall were standing together in Elijah Wilds's garden, at Shirley, seven miles distant, and Mother said to Hannah 'The Elders are in great tribulation, for I hear Elder William's soul cry to Heaven.'

"After the mob left the ground, the Elders, and those few Believers who were with them, retired a few rods, and all kneeled down; and Elder James had a new song of praise put into his mouth, which he sung on the spot as he was kneeling.[1]



[1] This song was found in an old Harvard Shaker manuscript.

"They then went back to Jeremiah Willard's, took their horses, and returned to Shirley the same evening, and were received by Mother and the Elders with great joy.

"'Did they abuse you James?' said Mother.

"'I will show you, Mother,' said James, and kneeling before her, he stripped up his shirt, and showed his wounded back, which was covered with blood. This was a shocking sight, and caused an affecting scene of sorrow and weeping. When they came to wash and dress it, they found his flesh black and blue from his shoulders to his waist-band, and in many places, bruised to a jelly, as though it had been beaten with a club.

"Elder James, addressing the brethren and sisters, said: 'I have been abused, but it was not for any wrong I have done to them; it is for your sakes. I have nothing against them for anything they have done to me; for they were ignorant, and know not what manner of spirit they were of.' Then, turning to Ivory Wilds, he said, 'Ivory, I could take as many more for you if it would do you any good.'

"Mother Ann and the Elders, with all the brethren and sisters, then kneeled down and prayed to God to forgive their bloody persecutors; Elder James cried, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.' 'James, this is the life of the gospel,' said Mother. After this Mother and the Elders were very joyful, and thankful that they were worthy to suffer persecution for Christ's sake." [1]

[1] *Precepts of Mother Ann Lee and the Elders.* (1888.)

THE MARBLE SHAFT IN THE WOODS BORDERING THE HIGHWAY WHERE FATHER JAMES AND FATHER WILLIAM WERE BEATEN

It is the custom for a Shaker in passing it to place a stone on the cairn that marks the spot

This account is from the testimony of those who were present on this occasion and most of it is from the testimony of Elijah Wilds, at whose house in Shirley the Shakers were holding their meeting. He sums up his account of the persecution in this way: —

"Thus they bore their sufferings with meekness and patience, and in a lamb-like spirit prayed for their persecutors. This, in addition to so many evidences which I had before received was a further proof to me that they possessed a treasure above all earthly treasures, and a power beyond all human power. That this power and spirit may find an entrance into the hearts of the children of men, and thereby bring them into the way of purity and holiness, so that they may be enabled to reap the fruits of eternal life, is my sincere and daily prayer.

(Signed) "ELIJAH WILDS."

SHIRLEY, *Nov.* 4, 1826.

It had now become only too evident that the presence of Mother Ann and the Elders at the Square House had so inflamed the antagonism of the majority of the inhabitants of Harvard and the neighboring towns that no halt would be made in persecuting them. Worn out and weary with the constant strain, they planned to seek a refuge where they could rest a while and gather in new strength. A strange presentiment held Mother Ann when she bade her followers good-bye. For days before she left, her thoughts dwelt in the spirit world. "I have been under great suffering to-day," she told Anna Cogswell, "and have seen many of the dead arise, and they were dressed in white robes, and received palms. These

will never fall; but poor man in the flesh is always exposed"; and then she said to Hannah Kendall, who was ill, "I do not wonder that you feel as you do, for you have been bearing for the dead. I see a tall soul right behind you now."[1]

It was on a Saturday morning early in July, 1783, that they left the Square House, and went to Petersham. Jemima Blanchard gives the following personal account of the journey: —

"The second time Mother went to Petersham I went with her. After she had got into her carriage to start Hannah Kendall offered her a silk handkerchief to wear over hers, which was a smallish cotton checked one; but Mother refused it, saying, 'Nay, I do not think it is best for me to wear it; you young folks may wear the silk; if I need another I will have a cotton one.'

"Several from Harvard, Shirley, and other places went with us. I rode horseback. This I suppose was not the custom in England, for Mother showed concern lest something should happen to me. Before we arrived at Petersham we were met by some Believers who had come to meet Mother, among whom was Hannah Simonds, who rode behind her husband.

"Mother told her to ride my horse to Petersham and told Samuel Fitch to take me behind him. I could not think what this meant at the time, but I afterwards supposed that as Hannah was a married woman she

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (1827.)

would be less exposed to be molested by the world. I was in meeting at the time pistols were shot off into the window. This was followed by shouts from the Believers. This was the evening after the meeting when Aaron Wood was knocked down. As the mob began to disperse, thinking they had killed him I heard Father James say, 'Come back and take care of your dead.' The brethren who took him up carried him a few steps toward the mob, which made them run the faster. They then brought him into the house, and laid him upon the floor. I had no idea but that he was dead, but he very soon sprang up and went to dancing.

"After the mob was dispersed, we went into the house, and concealed the lights. Father James and others watched at the windows and saw the mob stealing back after their horses. It pleased Father to see them show so much fear of being taken up, where no one had any thoughts of molesting them. In a meeting at Petersham, Father William had a powerful gift of reproof, calling upon the people to wake up, and labor out of their fallen natures; spake to some individuals, among whom was Father Eleazer. I thought he spake as sharp to him as to any one. Father William was walking the floor, and the next time he came that way, as soon as he had turned from Father Eleazer, the latter jumped upon Father William's back, and he carried him across the room. We then went into lively labor, and I saw no more of him at that time.

"While here this time, I slept in a room which was separated from the one in which Mother slept by a lathed partition without plastering. One night after all

around me were asleep I heard Mother sorrowing to God, with such fervent cries that it seemed as if it would break my heart. I could not sleep, and I do not think she slept any all night.

"The day previous she had been in labors with some of Solomon Frizzle's family; he and his wife fell away. They had some very promising young children for whom it seemed Mother had a peculiar tenderness. As she wept I heard her say, 'O God, I am but a poor woman.'"[1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

XVIII

THE FINAL EXIT FROM HARVARD

THE following account of Mother Ann and the Elders being driven from town to town until they finally arrived at Niskayuna is from an original manuscript belonging to the Harvard Shakers. It was compiled in 1853 by Elder Thomas Hammond. Some portions of it appear in "Testimones of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee." (Albany, 1888.)

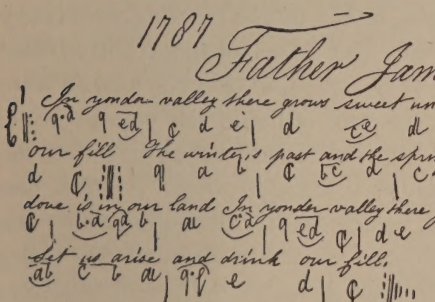
"Early next morning they proceeded to David Hammond's in Petersham. They were accompanied by a considerable number of Believers from Harvard and other places. (This was the time that Mother and the Elders left Harvard and returned no more bodily, except Father James.) About the third day after their arrival in the afternoon, a considerable collecton of people, who were returning from a funeral, came and gathered round the house in a tumultuous manner, and seemed determined to enter, but were kept out by David Hammond and others who stood in the hall. Elder James, observing their riotous and persecuting spirit and conduct, read, with his usual calmness, an article on the Bill of Rights, which grants to Christians of every denomination equal rights and privileges in the exercise and enjoyment of their religious profession and worship. He then reasoned with them for some time, and endeavored to show them that such proceedings as theirs were unchristian, unlaw-

ful, unmanly, and abusive. Mother also came downstairs, went to the door, and boldly reproved the mob for their wickedness, and reminded them of the abuse which she and the Elders had before suffered in this place. Several of the company were then admitted into the house, and Mother conducted them to a back apartment, and showed them a narrow passage back of the chimney, and said, 'They thrust me through there; it seemed as though they would press my soul out of my body; I was never so abused in all my life.'

"Some of the brethren went out to reprove and admonish the mob for their ungodly and abusive behavior; but it seemed in vain to parley with people bent on wickedness. Stones were thrown in at the windows which hit and wounded several persons in their head, and a number of the brethren and sisters were abused and hurt. But in the midst of the hubbub Mother ordered the Believers to sing; they instantly obeyed and sung with great power. When the singing ended the brethren chiefly went out among the rabble and were very bold and powerful in supporting the testimony of the Gospel, and reproving them for their abusive and wicked behavior — but this seemed only to exasperate them the more. They reviled and abused the brethren and struck a number of them. At length a man by the name of Benjamin Wilt, with a large club struck Aaron Wood on the head with such violence that he fell prostrate upon the ground, apparently dead. Some one of the people cried out, 'Mark the man that killed that man.' Instantly the whole mob began to disperse — some ran one way and some another, clambering over fences and stone

walls, the falling of which, in the confusion, made a great clattering which was succeeded by three shouts from the Believers that made the woods echo. Aaron was carried into the house and had his wound dressed.

"The following evening, while the Believers were zealously engaged in the worship of God, the house was again surrounded by a noisy rabble, mocking, hooting, and yelling like savages; but they were not suffered to enter. During the worship a pistol was discharged in at the window, apparently with a view to disconcert and terrify the Believers; but so little was it regarded that although the fire passed close by the principal singer (Eleazar Rand) who stood beside the window, it did not break the song, nor stop the exercises of the people. The following is the song, taken from Brother John Robinson, a singer, and who was at the time in the meeting.


1787
Father James.
In yonder valley there grows sweet union Let us arise and drink
our fill The winter's past and the spring appears The turtle
done is in our land In yonder valley there grows sweet union
Let us arise and drink our fill.

It was, as he supposed, Father Eleazar's song.[1] Brother John said that Father James set to leaping, and they had a powerful time.

[1] It was Father James's song. It *should* read : —

"In yonder valley there *flows* sweet union."

The error is in the original manuscript.

"Thus the wicked continued their savage and heathenish behavior, night after night during the greatest part of the time that Mother continued in Petersham, which was about twelve days. Shortly before Mother and the Elders left Petersham, they went to Thomas Shattuck's, about three fourths of a mile from David Hammond's, where, being followed by nearly all the Believers, they had a very joyful meeting, attended also with sharp war against the flesh and all sin.

"Mother afterwards spoke very comfortingly to the Believers and counselled them to forget their troubles and remember their sorrows no more. Soon after this Mother and the Elders proceeded on their journey to the westward, crossed the Connecticut River at Sunderland and went directly to Joseph Bennet's in Cheshire, where they arrived on Friday, July 18. Here they tarried over the Sabbath, held a public meeting, and many of the world attended. The elders all spoke and opened the Gospel with great clearness, so that the wicked were confounded. After meeting some of the young people of the town came to the house, and began to rail in the most vehement manner against Mother. At this, one of the young sisters, feeling greatly pressed upon by the power of God, cried out, 'She is my Mother! She is my Mother!' Father William immediately added, 'And she is my Mother! She is my Mother!' This put them to silence. Mother laid open some of their sins before their faces, so that they went off greatly ashamed.

"After tarrying at Joseph's nearly a week, strengthening the Believers and building them up in their most holy faith, Mother and the Elders pursued their jour-

ney to Richmond with the view of visiting the Believers in Richmond and Hancock, and arrived at Samuel Fitch's in Richmond on Thursday, July 24.

"The Believers in Richmond and Hancock gathered with great joy to see Mother and the Elders after their arrival. Many of the world came also and desired information. At first they behaved with civility, but when the Believers went forth in the worship of God, and the power of God was manifested among them, the subjects of Anti-Christ's kingdom were disturbed and the spirit of opposition began to show itself in a violent manner.

"In the evening of the second day after their arrival, there came a number of the wicked, and behaved very roughly, — but were kept out of the house by Samuel and the brethren.

"On the Sabbath many of the Believers gathered and went forth in the worship of God, with great power, rejoicing, shouting, and praising God. This alarmed the wicked, many of whom were present, and manifested their opposition in various ways; but no serious act of personal violence was committed.

"About the middle of this week, Mother and the Elders went to Daniel Goodrich's in Hancock. There the wicked also continued and increased in their opposition. The following Sabbath, August 3, many of the world gathered under the pretence of seeing the meeting; and although some appeared civil, and doubtless came with honest intentions, yet, in the latter part of the day, many being offended with the worship and gifts of God, showed much opposition, and behaved in a riotous

manner, scoffing at the work and threatening, beating, and abusing some of the Believers.

"On Monday, the rage of the wicked still increasing, they gathered in great numbers in the morning, and conducted themselves in a very rough and malicious manner, venting out the most false and scandalous accusations against Mother and the Elders that they could invent or hear of from anybody or nobody; and indeed their invention was very prolific.

"The mob continued their abusive and clamorous behavior for a considerable time, and seemed determined, if possible, by their false accusations and hard speeches, to destroy the testimony of the Gospel out of the land.

"At length Mother went out at a door, on the opposite side of the house, and stepped into a carriage which had been prepared for her, and returned back to Samuel Fitch's, unperceived by the mob. The Elders tarried behind till Mother was out of the way, and then walked out in presence of the mob, to follow her.

"The Elders followed Mother to Samuel Fitch's, and when the mob discovered that they were gone from Daniel Goodrich's, they soon dispersed. But the same evening, having heard that they were gone to Samuel Fitch's, this persecuting rabble again collected their forces, and followed them there, and were very boisterous and abusive. Eleazer Goodrich and others of the brethren rebuked them for their ungodly conduct, but all in vain. In the mob several of the Believers were roughly handled and some of them knocked down. John Demming received a severe stroke upon his head, by which he was knocked down and badly hurt, and the blood flowed

freely. The rioters were, however, kept out of the house by Samuel Fitch and others. These things brought great tribulation upon Mother, and she spoke and said, 'If God does not work for me, it seems as though the wicked world would destroy me.'

"Soon after these words she said, 'I see a white hand stretched out toward me, which is a sign, and a promise of my protection.'

"A warrant was served upon Mother and the Elders, and Eleazer Goodrich, Samuel and Dyer Fitch. All these being taken by the warrant, the mob dispersed. The constable, however, consented to leave them, on receiving their word that they would appear the next day.

"Accordingly the next day they all appeared before the Board of Justices of the Peace held in Richmond meeting-house. This Board consisted of Samuel Brown and J. Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, and James Gates, of Richmond. These were the judges who were to try Mother and her little company upon a charge of blasphemy and disorderly conduct, brought against them by their wicked persecutors.

"Many evidences were produced against them which were readily heard; but the few that were brought forward in their defense could scarcely obtain any hearing at all. The riotous and abusive conduct of the mob, from which all the disorder originated, was, by a strange perversion of evidence, charged up on the Believers, a clear manifestation of the spirit and principles which governed the Court. To prove the charge of blasphemy, it was testified that Samuel Fitch had declared that 'In

Mother Ann dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily.' To this charge Samuel, by Elder James's direction, replied in his own defense: 'We read in the Scriptures that the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in our Lord Jesus Christ bodily'; and again, 'Except Christ be in you ye are reprobates.' The inference was at once perceived by the judges, who found themselves unable to proceed with a charge which must, in the issue, prove themselves reprobates. But Samuel, feeling great boldness, stood up and warned the judges in these words: 'Take heed what you do to these people (Mother and the Elders) for they are God's anointed ones, whom he hath sent to America.' This admonition was highly offensive to their judges and persecutors, and they consulted among themselves to know what they should do with these Shakers; for although they appeared to be conscientious and acted upon religious principles; yet they deluded the people and disturbed the inhabitants, and they must be taken care of or they would turn the world upside down.

"After considerable labor among themselves it was decided that Mother and the Elders should be fined the sum of twenty dollars, as disturbers of the peace, and then leave the State. The money was immediately advanced by the Brethren, so that they might be set at liberty, but as to leaving the State they chose to obey God rather than man, and accordingly continued their labors among the people in these parts. Samuel and Dyer Fitch and Eleazer Goodrich, being inhabitants of the town, were required to give bonds for their good behavior, and for their appearance at the County Court at Barrington. But these brethren insisted that they

had a right to worship God in their own houses, without molestation; and therefore could not consent to give bonds, as they might be charged by their adversaries with breaking the peace whenever they attempted to worship God in their own habitations. They were therefore committed to Barrington Jail, to be tried by the County Court.

"After Mother and the Elders were released, they returned to Samuel Fitch's, and from thence to Nathan Goodrich's, in Hancock, where they tarried over the Sabbath. But so great was the collection of people on the Sabbath that they assembled at three different houses to worship, namely, at Nathan, Daniel, and Ezekiel Goodrich's. Many of the world attended, and the Gospel was preached by the Elders, and the elder brethren with them.

"The meetings were attended with great power and operations of the Holy Ghost, and the wicked vented their rage in words; but no essential acts of violence were committed. Mother tarried at Nathan Goodrich's, and some of the Elders attended the other meetings.

"About the middle of this week, Mother felt a gift to go and visit the brethren in Barrington Jail. She accordingly went, accompanied by the Elders and a number of the Believers. When they came to the prison, Mother said, 'We have come to see Christ in prison.' After tarrying with them a day or two, and comforting them under their afflictions, Mother and her company returned by the way of West Stockbridge, and visited the family of Elijah Slosson, who lived in that place. Elijah and his family had embraced the testimony of the Gospel,

and his son Jonathan, who accompanied Mother, had, previous to her leaving Hancock to visit the prisoners, kneeled down before her and prayed her to visit his father's family and bless it. She arrived there on Saturday, and tarried till Monday, and the blessing of God seemed to attend this visit in a remarkable manner. Many Believers gathered at Elijah's on Saturday from New Lebanon, Hancock, and other places; and on the Sabbath there was also a large concourse of the world. The house being insufficient to hold them, they all assembled on the green before the door; and the Gospel was preached to them by the Elders and leading brethren with them. The meeting was attended with great power, and the multitude of the world generally behaved with civility.

"This day there were upward of two hundred people fed in Elijah's family, and such was the blessing of God that rested upon the family and all they possessed that it may truly be said the Lord blessed the family of Elijah and all that pertained unto him.

"The blessing of God which attended this visit was truly remarkable. In consequence of the vast concourse of people that followed Mother, there were upwards of one hundred horses turned into Elijah's cow pasture, of between six and seven acres of grass; where they remained from Saturday to Monday, and fed the pasture bare. When they were gone Elijah's neighbors laughed at him and asked him what he would do now, for the Shakers' horses had eat up all his pasture. 'Trust in God,' replied Elijah.

"The Saturday following, his pasture, which was of

white clover, was fresh grown and in blossom, and so abundant that Elijah took in cattle and horses to pasture for his neighbors who were short of pasture. The quantity of butter and cheese made by the family from four cows was considered as miraculous. They were also enabled to entertain many Believers, while on their journey to and from the church; and as most of them were poor, they not only found entertainment in the hospitable mansion, but were also furnished with provisions for their journey. Yet so great was the blessing of God upon the family that they always had a plenty, and so evident did the blessing appear, that their unbelieving neighbors were forced to confess that it was marvellous. J. H., a tavern-keeper, who lived next neighbor to Elijah, had before this been violently opposed to the people; but on observing these things, he was struck with astonishment, and exclaimed, 'How is it? I keep a tavern and have to pay for all I dispose of, and yet I can but just get along. You must have much more company than I do, and entertain them upon free cost, and yet you always have a fulness.' From this time he became very friendly and remained so till death. Mother appeared greatly satisfied with her visit to Elijah's, and after blessing the family she departed, about ten o'clock on Monday, and returned to Samuel Fitch's; from thence to Nathan Goodrich's, where she tarried till Saturday, and continued her labors with the people.

"During the time that Mother and the Elders continued in Richmond and Hancock, they were visited by many Believers from New Lebanon and other places, who were fed and nourished by the power and gifts of

God, from these Parents in the Gospel. And they were almost continually, more or less of them, in meeting, so that it was expressed by some of the Believers in Hancock, 'We could hardly distinguish the days of the week, for every day felt like the Sabbath.'

"On Friday, a large mob collected, headed by one Aaron Baker, of Pittsfield, who was a near neighbor to the Believers. Mother and Father William, feeling their gift at an end in this place, informed the mob that they should go the next day before ten o'clock. Some of the mob were for using violence, others were against it, so that there was a division among them. Elder James went out to speak to them, and was seized by one Absalom Ford, who attempted to draw him into the street; but some others of the mob interfered and insisted that there should be no violence used seeing they were going away the next day. They then dispersed, and the Believers enjoyed that night in peace. On Saturday morning, August 23, Mother and the Elders, with a large company of Believers, set off from the Goodrich's in Hancock, to visit New Lebanon. They arrived at Israel Tallcott's, on the mountain, between New Lebanon and Hancock, a little before noon. Abigail Tallcott had her small pot of meat and vegetables over the fire, cooking for the dinner of her little family. Mother spoke to Abigail and said, 'You must get dinner for us, and all that are with us.' 'Then I must boil more meat and sauce,' said Abigail. 'Nay' (said Mother), 'there is a plenty.' Accordingly Abigail took up her dinner, and all the company, consisting of nearly forty people, sat down and ate, and were satisfied. Abigail was greatly astonished that so

many people were fed upon so small a quantity of victuals.

"After dinner, they proceeded to David Shapley's, where they made a short tarry, and then went on to John Bishop's in New Lebanon. And here was fulfilled Mother's prophecy to John while she was in prison at Albany, more than three years before; and this was a joyful day to John. When Mother came in, she walked through the house from one room to another, and singing, 'Now Mother is come! Mother is come now!' Then, turning to the Elders, 'So John's soul sings,' said Mother.

"The next morning, Mother asked John if he had any suitable place on his lot to hold a meeting; 'for' (said she) 'there will be more than twice as many people here to-day as can get into your house.' 'Yea,' replied John, and pointed out his orchard, near the house. Accordingly they assembled in the orchard, and it was judged that there were not less than four hundred people assembled on that day.

"After the assembly was collected in the orchard, Father William began to sing, and the power of God was manifested in a marvellous manner among the Believers in this assembly, not with great noise nor external operations, but with a mighty inward power and trembling.

"Elder James came forward and presented himself before the assembly, and said, 'My name is James Whittaker. I have prayed to God for you as earnestly as I ever prayed for my own soul.' He then spake of the great loss and fallen state of man and of the necessity of a restoration through Christ, in order to find salvation and

redemption, now offered through the medium of the Gospel. 'The time is fully come' (said he), 'according to ancient prophecy, for Christ to make his second appearance for the redemption of lost man. This is the second appearance of Christ,[1] and we are God's true witnesses, through whom Christ has manifested himself, in this day of his second appearing; and the only means of salvation that ever will be offered to a lost world is to confess and forsake their sins, take up their cross and follow Christ in the regeneration.'

"He then spoke of the necessity of souls believing in these messengers whom God had sent, and declared that the only way that they could find the will of God was to find it in those messengers whom he had sent; that this was the way, according to the Scriptures, that God manifested himself to the ancients, and that it was as much so now as in ancient days.

"Father James wept much and spoke much of humility and self-abasement, and said, 'You cannot blame me for abasing myself.' He declared the great riches he had found by the Gospel, and spoke of the awful consequences of souls rejecting the day of their visitation. After this Elder Joseph Meacham and Calvin Harlow spoke in confirmation of what had been spoken, declared this to be the second appearance of Christ, and that these were his true witnesses.

"So great was the power of God, and so clear the evidence of the testimony, that every mouth was stopped, and every tongue became dumb; all opposition was put

[1] In speaking here of Christ, the narrator does not refer to Jesus of Nazareth, but to the eternal Christ Spirit.

down, and the world appeared like souls arraigned before the bar of judgment. The Believers went forth in the worship of God, with great power and gifts of the Holy Ghost.

"The world had not power to molest them, and no disturbance was made. After meeting victuals were set upon the table; the brethren and sisters were all called to eat, and a large number were fed.

"After the Believers had eaten and were satisfied, Mother asked John if he was willing to invite the world in to eat; to which he consented, and went out and told them that if they needed they should be welcome to come in and eat. Accordingly all that chose to accept came in and ate, to the number of fifty or sixty. And so great was the blessing of God, that although no victuals were cooked that day, yet it seemed as though there was more left after feeding more than two hundred people than when they began to eat.

"Concerning this visit of Mother's to John Bishop's, John himself gives the following account: —

"'I evidently felt the blessing of God rest upon my home and all that I had, and though temporal blessings are the lesser, and were at that time the least in my esteem; yet, as they were evidences of the good fountain from whence they flowed, I shall here insert some of them in particular. I took Mother's horse, and the horses of those that came with her, nearly forty in number, and put them into my cow pasture, which contained eight or ten acres of land. At first I thought my feed would soon be gone; but concluded that I should not care for that, since Mother had come to my house.

Here the horses, with my four cows, continued from Saturday in the afternoon until nearly noon on the Monday following.

"'The same day after they were taken out I went to see my pasture; and strange to say it was more fresh and green than I should have expected, if there had not been the hoof of a creature in it for a whole week. And though a number of pails of milk were carried out for the multitude to drink, my family made more butter that week than in any week during the season. These things which in nature appeared impossible, I felt confident were affected by the same Power that fed the five thousand with five barley loaves and two small fishes.'

"Mother left John Bishop's on Monday about noon, and went to Hezekiah Hammond's, where she stayed till evening, and then went to George Darrow's and tarried all night. The next day she visited the family of Reuben Wright. Here Elder James had a gift to sing with remarkable power of God, and the Believers went forth with great zeal and worshipped God in the dance. Mother stayed and dined; and after dinner as she was about to depart, and had advanced to the door she turned herself round, and kneeling down, spoke as follows: —

"'God created my soul in innocence, but by sinning against his holy commandments I was defiled and abominable in his sight. While I was in this wretched state God was pleased to call me by the Gospel; I was wrought upon, by the power of the Holy Ghost, to see and feel the depth of my loss; and by the same power I was

helped to travel out of it. When I was despised and afflicted by mine enemies, thou O God didst comfort me! when cruel persecutors rose against me and put me into prisons and dungeons, thou didst stretch forth thine hand for my deliverance. I thank thee, O Father! Lord of Heaven and Earth, for the revelation of Jesus Christ, which showed me the depth of man's loss, and the way of recovery by the Gospel.

"'When I was in my native land, I received a special revelation of God, to come to America to bring the Gospel to this nation. And when the time was fully come, I crossed the great waters, through many dangers and perils, and by the miraculous power of God I arrived safe to this land. Ever since I have been here, God has supported me by His special grace, under all trials and afflictions; and has given me strength and fortitude to stand in defense of the truth.

"'I thank thee, O God, for raising up so great a people in this land. Thou hast made me able to plant the Gospel in the hearts of many, who are now able to glorify thy name. I pray God protect and strengthen thy chosen people and keep them from all evil.'

"After Mother rose from her knees, she went directly to Joseph Meacham's and tarried an hour or two; and from thence to Isaac Harlow's, where she tarried till near night. She went to Josiah Skinner's, where she took supper, and held meeting. The Believers went forth in the worship of God in singing and dancing, with great joy. The same evening she proceeded to John Spier's. Many people followed her through New Lebanon to this place, singing and shouting with great joy.

But the wicked gathered in considerable numbers, used much threatening and abusive language, and at length burst open the door and crowded into the entry that led to the room where the Believers were assembled.

"Mother was at this time standing in the midst of the assembly, with a young child of Nathan Farrington's in her arms; but feeling a gift to go into another room, which she could not do without passing through the mob in the hall, she therefore, with the child in her arms, took hold of young Mehitable Farrington, and bid her go forward and stop for nobody; and thus they passed through the mob into a more retired room. 'We have got through, and God has protected us,' said Mother to Mehitable. Later at night the mob departed and the Believers retired to rest. The next day Eleazer Grant and Elisha Gilbert, Esq. and Doctor Averill came there, and had a long conversation with Mother and the Elders. The day following several Indians came and Father William was moved by the power of God to speak to them in their own native language, although he had no knowledge of it but by the gift of God; but the Indians understood and answered him.

"The family of Nathan Farrington had very early desired Mother to come to their house; and though she had not given any encouragement of coming, yet on Friday morning she went there. Nathan had just been building a new house, which was then unfinished. When Mother came into the house she said, 'Now Mother is come, and you are welcome; you have been faithful to ask, and now you have got a blessing.' Mother then looked round the house and said, 'I feel a gift and bless-

ing in the building of this house; you must serve God in it.'

"Many Believers being collected there, Father William said, 'The house is not large enough for all the people to assemble and serve God in; we had better go out on the grass and serve God.' Accordingly they all assembled in the meadow near the house. Father William sung for them, and they all went forth with great power, in the worship of God, and danced till they trod the grass into the earth, and even trod down the earth, so that it was like an earthen threshing floor, with scarcely the appearance of grass upon it. The same evening Mother went from Nathan Farrington's to Jabez Spencer's in Stephentown. On the Sabbath morning following Captain Ichabod Turner and Birch, Esq., came in a friendly manner and informed the Elders that there was a mob about to rise, but said they thought it would take two or three days for them to collect. The Elders informed them that they expected to leave the place on Monday. As the Believers were engaged in the worship of God, some carnal young men, with their female companions, drew near, and in a scoffing manner said to some of the brethren: 'What! are you dancing to worship God?' 'Yea' (replied the Brethren), 'and you may worship God too, if you will.' They then stepped in and went to dancing — their young women soon followed their example, and began to dance among the sisters. They were soon surrounded by the brethren and sisters, and so great was the strength and power of God in the assembly that they were unable to make any resistance, but were compelled to dance under the

operation of the power of God, with the headdresses and the hair of the young women flying in every direction, until they were brought down to feel very low and simple, and went off peaceable, and well mortified.

"The Believers continued their exercises through the whole night following.

"On Monday evening, September 1, Mother and the Elders, with a considerable number of brethren and sisters, left Jabez Spencer's to return to New Lebanon. They had proceeded about half a mile when they were met by Elijah Harlow, on horseback. Mother, being in a chair with Hannah Kendall, told Elijah that he might let one of the people take his beast, and he might help her along, as it was dark, and the road very rough for a carriage. Elijah readily gave up his beast, and led Mother on one side, while another brother led on the other side, and Childs Hamlin held the carriage behind. The Elders and the rest of the company followed on horseback. Thus they proceeded in a very joyful manner. Mother would often speak and say, 'Brethren, be comfortable. Brethren, be joyful.' The brethren as often replied, 'We will, Mother.' Thus they went on singing very joyfully till they arrived at Daniel Green's, about five miles from Spencer's.

"Here they stopped, and Mother alighted from her carriage and went in, with the chief part of her company, and tarried a short time. Daniel's wife was a Believer, and Daniel was a friendly man, but did not profess faith. From thence they proceeded about one mile further to the house of Joshua Green. Here they made another halt and went in, and those who had need took some refresh-

ment of bread and cheese. Thus they proceeded, and at length they arrived at Isaac Harlow's in New Lebanon, eight miles from Spencer's. Here they stopped for the night and put out their horses. After gathering into the house they again went forth in the worship of God with great zeal and powerful operations of various kinds. This journey from Stephentown, and the labors and exercises at Isaac Harlow's, took up the greater part of the night. Toward daylight the people retired to rest, but Mother and two young sisters (Hannah Kendall and Lucy Wood), with the Elders, went on about one mile further to George Darrow's, the place where the meeting-house in New Lebanon now stands.

"Scarcely had the day begun to dawn when a mob began to collect, and soon after surrounded the house where Mother was, and a terrible scene of persecution ensued. It is supposed by many, that Eleazar Grant, Esq., was the instigator of the mob, but, be that as it may, it was evidently planned and matured in connection with him. There were many very malicious enemies in and about New Lebanon, who knew where Mother was, and who were watching the first opportunity of her return into the place to vent their malicious rage on her and the Elders. Their first act was to seize George Darrow and David Meacham with a warrant, under pretence of their having abused a young woman, the daughter of David Meacham. But this act was evidently intended to cover their real object, which was to get these two men from the house where Mother and the Elders were, knowing that the mob would have much more power to act in their absence, as David was a man of

great fortitude and influence, and George, the owner of the house. They were accordingly taken and carried before Eleazer Grant for trial. George left the care of his house with his brother David Darrow and Richard Spier. These men informed the mob of the authority they had to protect the house, and expostulated with them upon the unlawfulness of their assembling and conducting in such a manner. But the mob felt no disposition to parley about the matter, for they were determined on violence, without any regard to law or justice.

"The Believers collected as fast as the mob did and went into the house, which was soon nearly filled up. There were three outside doors to the house which were all guarded by the Believers. The mob commenced their acts of violence by attempting to force a passage into all the doors at once. The brethren who had the charge of the house forbid their entrance, and again urged the unlawfulness of such proceedings, but in vain; their conduct was like that of ravenous wolves among harmless sheep. They seized the brethren, one after another, and dragged them out with the most savage violence. Richard Spier was three times thrown out at a back door which was very high from the ground. Some were thrown out by the hair of their heads; some were taken by four or five men, one at each arm and leg, and pitched head foremost with great violence into a mud puddle near the door; some had their clothes badly torn. After a conflict of fifteen or twenty minutes, the mob succeeded in getting into the house.

"Mother was at this time in a back bedroom, sepa-

rated from the rest of the people by a ceiled partition. The ruffians strove to enter the room where she was, but were kept back by the brethren who guarded the door. After a considerable struggle, they succeeded in tearing down the ceiling of the room, seized Mother by her feet and dragged her in a shameful manner, through the parlor and kitchen, to the door. Elijah Harlow had made ready Mother's carriage before the action commenced and sat in it before the door, where he had a fair view of the scene. Mother was pitched headlong into her carriage. Hannah Kendall and Lucy Wood followed through the crowd and got into the carriage with her. Elijah then gave them the lines, and as they were about to start Mother spoke to Prudence Hammond, who brought out her budget, and said, 'Prudence, keep along with us.'

"They had not proceeded more than three or four rods when the ruffians cut off both the reins of the bridle. Elijah then attempted to lead the beast, and proceeded six or eight rods further, where the mob surrounded the carriage and beat him off, with many severe strokes, and undertook to lead the beast themselves, and drove on very furiously toward Grant's. Prudence Hammond, according to Mother's order, kept close by the side of the carriage. A certain young man of the mob observing her, exerted himself very much to beat her off, and ride over her, but was not able, for Mother often repeated her order, 'Prudence, keep along with us, don't let your faith fail,' which gave Prudence a degree of power that the world was not able to resist.

"At length another young man spoke to some of his

companions and said, 'These people have got a power that we know nothing about; it is the power of God that carries that woman along in such a manner.' He then politely offered to take Prudence on behind him and carry her civilly. But Mother cautioned her, saying, 'Prudence, don't be enticed by them, don't let your faith fail and you will hold out to the end.' So Prudence ran along on foot, still keeping close by the side of the carriage. In this manner they proceeded about sixty rods further, when they came to a narrow bridge across a small rivulet, upon the side of a steep hill which formed a dangerous precipice. Here the inhuman wretches attempted to overset the carriage, but were prevented by Medad Curtis, who at that instant saved the chair, but in the struggle, Thomas Law, who was the most active in the business, fell down the precipice. Law was afterwards heard to say, 'I should have finished the old woman if it had not been for that devil of a Medad.'

"When they had proceeded about half a mile further, Law violently seized hold of Elder James and pulled him from his horse, evidently intending to precipitate him head foremost upon a rock — but one of the brethren instantly caught him by the shoulder and by that means saved his head; but he fell with his side upon the rock with such violence that three of his ribs were fractured by the fall. By the assistance of some of the brethren he mounted his horse and again rode on to Grant's.

"Mother was dragged into Grant's in such a manner that her cap and apron were torn off. Elder James in

formed her that Thomas Law had pulled him from his horse and broke his ribs and requested liberty to enter a complaint against him. But Mother, feeling no liberty for him to do it, counselled him to let it pass, and labor to be comfortable and peaceable.

"Elder James, shortly after, received a healing gift of God, which restored him to his former soundness, so that on the same evening, he rode a number of miles on a full gallop.

"At the time of Mother's arrival at Grant's, he was sitting in Court, and pretending to try a cause of complaint against David Meacham and George Darrow, which lasted some time. This complaint, which had originated in malice and was prosecuted through envy, ended in a mere mock trial, evidently designed to cover greater deeds of persecution and abuse. When Grant had disposed of this case he had Mother brought before him, and called upon her to hear her indictment. But instead of attending to the false accusations brought against her by her enemies, and which it was in vain to counterplead before a mob tribunal, headed by an unjust judge whose sole object was to overthrow the works of God, she reproved him for sitting as a magistrate and suffering such riotous mobs to abuse innocent people, contrary to the law, without attempting to suppress them.

"John Noyse, the constable, had greatly abused Mother, and struck her several times with his staff before Grant's face: particularly one severe stroke across her breast, the mark of which she carried for some time afterwards. In reproving Grant, she said: 'It is your

day now, but it will be mine by and by, Eleazar Grant. I'll put you in a cockle-shell yet.'

"After the trial was over, and Grant had repeated these words, 'Lay hands suddenly on no *man*,' the mob took hold with increased zeal, and separated Mother from the body of Believers, and would not suffer them to come near her, but drove on, with great violence, toward Albany; still keeping the Believers back, and thrashing and abusing every one that attempted to go forward. Many of them were inhumanly beaten; some of those on horseback, besides being beaten themselves, had their horses beaten with such violence that they several times nearly fell down. Thus they drove on about seven miles through a rough and muddy road, over stones and stumps, seeking the roughest places in the road for Mother's carriage; which, together with many severe strokes which she received from her drivers, greatly increased the fatigue and suffering she had already endured. And though several families of Believers lived on the road, the mob would not suffer Mother to stop for any refreshment, although it was near sunset, and she had eaten nothing that day, excepting a few mouthfuls which she had obtained of Grant's wife, at the intercession of some of the sisters.

"At length they arrived about dusk, against a tavern on the road, and the landlord, whose name was Ranny, hearing the tumult and understanding the cause, came out, and with great authority of spirit, and keen severity of language, reprimanded the mob for such shameful abuse toward an innocent and civil people; and

boldly threatened them with the utmost rigor of the law if they did not immediately disperse.

"This severe rebuke and bold threat from Ranny greatly embarrassed the mob; and concluding that they were near the boundary line of the town and night coming on, they said that all who belonged to Niskayuna might pass on, but those who belonged to New Lebanon should go back. The brethren, however, would not consent to this, but determined to cleave to Mother. After much wrangling and some blows from the mob they left the Believers a few rods west of Ranny's and near to Charles M. Carthy's, a poor man who lived in a little log house, where most of them retired and took shelter for the night. Mother was very much exhausted, and passed the night under great distress and suffering.

"When daylight appeared, the Believers who had taken their lodgings on the floor of the house and in an old log barn, arose from their cold berths wet and muddy, just in the situation the mob had left them. However, the young brethren soon cleared away the rubbish in the dooryard and prepared for meeting. The people assembled, and kneeling down wept with great sorrow. Elder James said, 'If these should hold their peace, I believe the very stones would cry out to God.' They then went forth in worship with great power of God. Soon after meeting, some of the brethren from New Lebanon came and brought them a plenty of provisions, which came in a time of need and was thankfully received; for very few of those who had followed Mother had eaten anything the preceding day. After eating their breakfast, Mother showed them the bruises she had received

from her cruel persecutors. Her stomach and arms were beaten and bruised black and blue, and she and the sisters with her informed them that she was black and blue all over her body; and indeed it was not to be wondered at, considering how much she had been beaten and dragged about. She wept and said, 'So it has been with me almost continually ever since I left Niskayuna; day and night, day and night, I have been like a dying creature.' Mother and her persecuted little flock passed the fore part of the day in serving God and comforting one another. In the afternoon they returned back to Nathan Farrington's, where they spent the remainder of the day and the following night. After they arrived here Mother said, 'I feel now as though I could take some rest,' and appeared in a measure comfortable, considering the shocking scene of suffering and abuse which she had passed through the preceding day. But the enemies of the work of God could never be at rest while Mother was within their reach. In the dusk of the evening about thirty or forty heathenish creatures, of the baser sort, collected round the house in a mobbish manner. This collection consisted chiefly of a company of fellows from the town of Chatham, who, from the swaggerings of their manners, were styled the Indian Club. These ruffians demanded, in very rough and abusive language, 'to see that old woman.' Nathan inquired what they wanted of her. They answered, 'She is an old witch, and she shall not stay here.' Nathan replied, 'She is a woman of God, and you shall not see her in such a manner.'

"On hearing the tumult, and perceiving that a mob had gathered, Mother wept and said: 'This comes sud-

den upon me. What shall I do? I do not feel as though I could endure any more!"

"The mob threw clubs and stones at the house and threatened to break down the doors. Nathan boldly commanded them to desist, and threatened them with the penalty of the law if they attempted to break into his house. This seemed for a moment to check their rage. Nathan expostulated with them, and endeavored to show them the wickedness and folly of such conduct, and said: 'I have lived as a neighbor with you for a number of years in peace, but now, because I have joined the people of God according to my faith, and confessed my sins, as you ought to do, you come here and break into my house and abuse me and my family.'

"But the mob, being determined to break into the house, set reason and humanity at defiance and with horrid oaths and blasphemies continued to throw stones and clubs.

"The house being new and unfinished, and one of the passages fastened with loose boards, they at length succeeded in forcing the boards down, and carried them into the street, but were still prevented from entering the house by the brethren who stood in the passage.

"Mother, who was at this time in the upper part of the house, sent for John Farrington (eldest son of Nathan Farrington) and spoke to him, saying: 'John, can't you go and send these creatures off?' 'Yea, Mother,' replied John. 'Go' (said she), 'and shame them. Tell them it is a shame for men to be round after a woman, in the night; but if they will go off and come to-morrow peaceably, in the daytime, I will see them.' Accordingly John

went down, in the strength of Mother's gift, and slipped out at another door, and was instantly seized by two lusty ruffians. 'Love,' said John. 'Love,' replied the men in a sneering tone of voice; and immediately gripped him between them with such violence that it seemed as though they intended to squeeze the breath out of his body. John held his breath; and as they slacked their arms he cried, 'More love!' At which they renewed their hug, gripping him with all their strength. This was repeated a number of times, till the men had wearied themselves in hugging and squeezing John, who received no hurt.

"'Now, if you have got through' (said John), 'I want to reason with you, as you are reasonable men, or ought to be. Why do you come here in such a manner, in the night, after a woman? It is a shame! I am ashamed of you that men should behave so! Do for the honor of man withdraw peaceably, and if you will come again in the morning peaceably, when it is daytime, the woman is willing to see you.'

"These words, spoken in the power and gift of God, completely vanquished their rage and quelled their savage spirits. They immediately began to withdraw, and were soon all gone; so that Mother enjoyed the remainder of this night in peace.

"The next morning only six or eight of them made their appearance. Mother went out with John and two or three of the sisters, to see them. 'This is the woman' (said John) 'that you pressed so hard to see last night.' 'What do you want of me?' said Mother. 'I am a poor weak woman. I do not hurt anybody.' The guilty

wretches had no confidence to speak to her, nor to look her in the face; but hung down their heads, and began to sheer off. John then invited them to stay and take breakfast; but they declined, and soon went off. Thus did God frustrate the evil designs of the wicked at this time.

"About ten o'clock in the morning Mother took her leave of the Believers at Nathan Farrington's, and said she did not feel it best for any to follow, excepting the Elders and Richard Spier; because it would only tend to increase the enmity of the work. She then departed for Niskayuna.

"After proceeding a few miles on this road, one of the shoes of Mother's beast came off, and they made a stop on White's hill, opposite to the blacksmith's shop, to get the shoe set. Father William stepped up to the shop and asked the blacksmith, whose name was Johnson, to set the shoe, and offered to pay him the money for it. But the man, in a very rough and passionate manner, refused and, seizing a pair of his tongs, threw them at him with great violence, but missing his aim, they struck the ground between Father William's feet, and pierced a hole nearly six inches deep in the hard, solid earth.

"Richard Spier picked up the tongs, and asked Johnson what he meant by such conduct. He replied with an oath that he would kill them all if they did not immediately depart. They left him, and went on about a mile, and stopped at Ebenezer Knapp's. Mary Knapp and her daughter Hannah were Believers, and the old man was friendly.

"Hannah had been sent home from Nathan Farring-

ton's by Mother in the morning, with information that she was coming along soon, and would stop there. The family had also made preparations to receive her; but she had not been in the house but a few minutes when this wicked Johnson, with about twenty ruffians in his own likeness, came and beset the house, and ordered Mother and the Elders to be gone in half an hour, or they would suffer the consequences. These cruel wretches were chiefly armed with cudgels and large whips, with the lashes wound around their hands. George White, Esqre., was one of the crew. Mother and the Elders were so pressed upon by these ruffians that they did not even sit down at the table of victuals which was provided for them, though some of them took a few mouthfuls into their hands and ate while they tarried.

"Hannah, who had returned from Nathan Farrington's with the joyful expectation of seeing Mother and the Elders at her father's house, was greatly grieved to think that they could not eat their victuals in peace; and though young and bashful, she was constrained by the power of God to break forth in the following words, 'If there was a company of drunkards, whoremongers, and whores gathered here to serve the Devil, you would not come to drive them away.' Father William replied, 'It is the truth of God, child.' Though Ebenezer Knapp did not pretend to be a Believer, he appeared to be very sorry that Mother and the Elders were so interrupted that they could not refresh themselves in peace, especially as it was the first time they had been at his house. He said they came peaceably and were welcome to stay as long as they chose. Father William went out onto the

piazza and spoke to the mob, with his usual boldness and said, 'We came here peaceably to refresh ourselves, and we will stay as long as we have a mind to, and do you resist us if you dare.'

"Mother and her company soon took their leave, and no further abuse was offered. One of the mob, however, attempted to lead Mother's carriage; but Hannah Kendall, who was in the carriage with Mother, forbid it saying, 'Let the horse alone, I am able to drive him myself.' He then let the horse go, and they proceeded on their journey, and met with no further opposition.

"When they arrived at the ferry, opposite Albany, a number of Indian natives were at the ferry, and on discovering Mother they cried out, 'The good Woman is come! The good Woman is come!' and manifested great joy and satisfaction on seeing her and the Elders. Mother soon crossed the river and proceeded on till they entered the forest, northwest of the town, where they made a little stop and rested themselves in peace. After this, they pursued their journey, and arrived at Niskayuna about eleven o'clock at night Sept. 4, 1783.

"During the period of two years and four months, the time of their absence from Niskayuna, Mother and the Elders travelled many hundred miles, and suffered indescribable hardships, afflictions, and persecutions to establish the Gospel in this land, and lay the foundation of Christ's Kingdom on earth. Most of the Believers in America had a privilege to see her, either by being visited at their own habitations, or by visiting her where she tarried; and all had a privilege to be taught the way of God more perfectly.

"During this period of time, Mother and the Elders had many precious and powerful gifts of God to search out and reprove sin, to strengthen the weak, instruct the ignorant, and comfort the afflicted; and all who were honest-hearted found a great increase of power over evil, of love and union, light and understanding.

"Here at Watervliet they were again visited by great numbers from all parts of the country where the testimony had been received; and here they continued their powerful meetings, where many souls were awakened by the sound of the Gospel, and felt the purifying fire in Zion; and all who were faithful and honest-hearted were instructed, strengthened, and encouraged, according to their needs and circumstances, in all things, both spiritual and temporal." [1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

XIX

THE LAST DAYS

When finally Mother Ann and the Elders reached Niskayuna,[1] they were greeted with expressions of deep affection and solicitude by those whom they had left behind when they had started forth in quest of the village and the expectant faces that Mother Ann had seen in her vision, and which she had found realized at the Square House on the outskirts of the village of Harvard in Massachusetts. But when her faithful followers' eyes scanned her face and those of the Elders, their hearts shrank with fear and dismay. With wasted bodies and faces worn with suffering, they returned and told the tale of the pitiless persecution that had followed them unceasingly since the day when, with hearts brave with hope, they bade them keep the candle of their faith burning brightly, and had gone forth to preach their new and strange religion. Many converts they had made. Already villages were growing, filled with believers: they had planted the seed, and the roots were taking hold of the earth in the deep ground: there was every promise of an abundant harvest. But the struggle had sapped the life-blood of the two leaders of the flock — Mother Ann, and Father William, whose tall, manly form with its soldierly bearing was now blighted in its strength. But they would not speak of their condition,

[1] Afterwards called Watervliet.

This brother and sister who had fought side by side for their convictions did not fear death, but continued to direct and strengthen their flock which now numbered many hundreds of souls.

Before Mother Ann left Harvard she had named a company of brethren and sisters who were to visit Niskayuna. Sister Jemima Blanchard was one of the company and in an old manuscript is her account of their journey: —

"The next winter Jeremiah Willard, Joseph Green, Zaccheus Stephens, Bethiah and Lucy Prescott, and myself started for Watervliet. The weather was excessively cold. Once on our way we called at a tavern with the intention of going six miles further. The landlord tried to dissuade our brethren from going further; said if they cared for our lives they would not. They said but little, but we went on our way and stood it very well.

"The last night of our journey we rode all night; called once at a house where they were up with a sick child. They were very kind to us, had us put our feet in cold water, as they thought they must be frozen, but they were not. We arrived at the residence of our blessed Mother early in the morning. Mother and Father Calvin met us at the door, and immediately fell upon their knees. Mother said, 'Here are the very people I have borne upon my heart and soul all night.' Father Calvin said that he had been feeling that there was trouble with some of the Believers. Mother had us all lie down. This was the only time I ever went to bed on arriving

at my journey's end when on a visit to Mother. But the weather was so cold, it was considered a great miracle that we were not frozen. We lay about two hours, and were then called up to breakfast, then went into meeting where we stayed till about one or two o'clock next morning. While at breakfast the next morning Mother and the Elders kept walking around the table and waiting upon me. Mother said, 'They did not spare to set a table for us when we were at Harvard.' She had told the kitchen sisters before to get us something that was good — that we were from Harvard, and that we always made them welcome to anything we had. There was other company there, and Mother told the kitchen sisters that they might call some of us out of meeting to assist them. They called Lucy and me. We washed dishes in the ground room, where the water came in so that we stood upon planks laid on blocks.

"As we stood there at the sink to work we were both instantly turned round by the power of God, and brought upon our knees. We looked up and saw Elder John Hocknell standing before us. He smiled upon us and said, 'What is the matter? I did but cast my mantle upon you. You don't mind the water.' This was the first time we had seen him after the day we arrived there. After our first meal I heard the kitchen sisters trying to have Mother have something to eat. She said she did not know as John had eaten anything for two days, that he was under great sufferings, and that as soon as he was released she desired that they would see that he had something for his comfort. Mother seemed to feel much

more for him than for herself. While at Watervliet there was at one time quite a number of people gathered into the meeting-room and were kneeling; there was some one came to the door and stood waiting for us to arise. Father James said, 'Kneel to God.' He then added: 'All that are now within the sound of my voice, remember what I say. It is my feeling and desire that whenever you are in a room, or go to a door where people are kneeling, that you kneel with them, and not wait for them to arise.' Mother used to teach us to unite with the leading gift in meeting; that if any one was taken with a great gift of power or repentance that seemed at variance with the leading influence, they should labor to get out of it as soon as they well could, and unite with the rest. And though she bore much with quite young Believers in this respect, yet as soon as they were able to bear it, she always strove quietly to bend their feelings to unite with the leading gift.

"But sometimes when any one had a very powerful gift of repentance, or any other gift, it would last awhile after the rest got through; but if they tried to give it up as soon as they could Mother would be satisfied, yet she would remark that those who found it very hard to have their gifts in union, would have a hard travail. Mother taught us to be strictly devoted to the worship of God. She would speak in substance as follows: 'Labor all the time when you have a privilege to worship God, to gather of the substance of the Gospel to lay up for your own souls, or to give to others; not to be fixing your clothes, to take out a pin or put one in unnecessarily; but have your souls devoted to gain the gifts and power of God.'

"In all the time I was with Mother I never saw a gift pass by unnoticed by her. I have often observed her when she heard the first sound of a gift; I could often perceive a change in her eye. She would listen and very soon make her way to the place from whence it came; and although sometimes it would seem to die away, it would always revive and increase until it had had the desired effect.

"She said when she set out to seek the Lord, she durst not have her mind on any earthly things, but gave her whole soul and body to labor for the saving power of God. I often heard Mother use the expression, 'You need to have eyes before and behind.'

"And when any mistake had happened she would say, 'Brethren, don't you see that you should have eyes before and behind?' Mother used to say, 'The Kingdom of Heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force; you must press into the kingdom and be zealous. Come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and trample these enemies under your feet.' Mother and the Elders often used to repeat this passage, 'Holiness becomes God's house forever.'

"When we were preparing to go home from meeting, Mother would sometimes speak to us and instruct us in spiritual things, by comparing them with natural. She would speak of the head of the natural body and how active the hands would be to save the head from a blow; and thus teach us to have full faith in the true order of God. She used to say: — 'A body without a head is a monster.' This I heard her say in meeting."

The following entry is to be found in the same record:—

"On the 21st of July, 1784, the Society was called to sustain a serious and afflicting trial in the decease of Elder William Lee who had been a powerful support to Mother Ann in the great weight of care which such a body of Believers brought upon her. This event was the means of preparing the minds of all the Believers for a still heavier trial, which they sensibly felt they must soon experience in the loss of the visible presence and protection of their dearly beloved Mother, the thought of which seemed almost insupportable to many.

"Father William was born in the town of Manchester, England, in 1740, and deceased at Watervliet, New York, July 21, 1784 ,— aged 44 years."

This was a real calamity and a prostrating blow to Mother Ann. She never rallied from it, though she did her best to arrange for the future of her Shaker Church. But her heart was very heavy, and her mind was tossed with many questions.

"One day," so Jonathan Slosson records, "Mother Ann took Joseph Meacham by the hand, and walking the floor, said: 'I see the glories of God in vision and revelation of things to come. Joseph is my first Bishop; he is my apostle in the ministry; my first Bishop; what he does, I do! I see the glories of God shine in his face! Joseph! my son Joseph! I feel my time short! I speak that you may understand.'

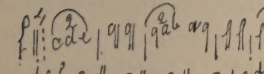
"Then turning to Elizabeth Chase she said: 'A ministration to this people will cease and then you will see peaceable times; then you may worship God under your own vines and fig trees, and none of the wicked will make you afraid. You will not need then to teach one another to know the Lord; for all the faithful will know him.' The hearts of her followers bled as they listened to her. The hollow eyes and sunken cheeks bore witness to the sufferings that had at last broken the frail body which once had been robust and full of vitality. At times still her spirit would surmount her weakness and break forth into song as of old."

David Slosson gives us another glimpse of her during her last days: —

"As she was walking the floor, and laboring under the power of God she prophesied, saying, 'The time will come when God will draw the line between the righteous and the wicked, and the wicked cannot pass over it. Yea, the time will come when God will give that power to His people, so that they will be able to draw the line, and the wicked cannot step one step over it. Fear not their fears, neither be afraid for God will deliver His people.'

"After this Mother Ann was released, and sang with great joy and triumph."

Mother Ann's Song.



And then her anxieties would sweep over her again. One of the brethren named Morell Baker records that one day he was present when Mother Ann was in great tribulation, and weeping with fervent cries to God, in considering the scattered state of the Believers. "But," she said, "the time will come when the church will be gathered into order; but not till after my decease." She then added, "After my departure there will come grievous wolves, who will destroy many of the flock."

Another of the brethren named John Barns records that she said to him at that time: "You think that you will yet subdue and overcome the nations of the earth; — but you are mistaken; they will have that work to do for themselves. They will fight and devour, and dash each other to pieces, until they become so humble as to be willing to receive the Gospel." Then in speaking of the world she added: "They will build up, but God will pull down: — they will build up, but God will pull down, until they can build no more! But you will have nothing to do with it."

And from one of the sisters, Eunice Goodrich by name, we are told: "So great was the manifestation of the power of God in Mother Ann at this time that many were unable to abide in her presence; — her words were like flames of fire, and her voice like peals of thunder; — and her countenance was very beautiful and glorious."

The end was drawing very near now. Her followers hung upon her words as her voice lost its ring, and grew weaker and weaker. Anna Mathewson and Lucy Wright were sitting with her when she said, "I see the opening of the heavens, and I see the heavens of heavens, as it

were, glory beyond glory; and still see that which does excel in glory." [1]

The following record closes the story of the life of this mysterious and fanatical character in our New England history: —

"Mother Ann, being herself sensible that her time was short, she often reminded the people of it, and often exhorted them to faithfulness and perseverance in the way of God. Having finished her work on earth, she was called to bid adieu to all terrestrial things and was released from her labors, her sorrows, and her sufferings, and calmly resigned her soul to God on the morning of the 8th of September, 1784, at Watervliet [Niskayuna] New York.

"Mother Ann was born the last day of February, — it is said the 29th, — 1736, aged forty-eight and some over at her decease. She was a daughter of John Lee, Manchester, England." [2]

Brother John Robinson, of Shirley, records the following: —

"When Mother Ann left the body at Watervliet, Elder Abiather Babbitt and Father Eleazer Rand dug her grave, and Brother Abijah Worster and Brother Abiather Eddy made her coffin. Father James spoke at her grave, and said, 'Here lies my two friends that came

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)

[2] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

from England, and would to God if it was the will of God that I lay here with them.'" [1]

Good Sister Jemima Blanchard gave Eldress Roxalana Grosvenor the following account of her strange experience upon hearing of Mother Ann's death, and of her great grief: —

"When I heard of Mother's decease I felt so distressed and sorrow-stricken that I thought it was impossible for me to live. I retired in secret and lay prostrate upon the floor, expecting to breathe out my soul in sorrow — for the more I tried to refrain the deeper my sorrow became. This continued without cessation, until I saw the appearance of Mother Ann, about the size of a child three years old. This beautiful messenger held something in each hand that appeared like a wing which she waved inward, and advancing toward me said: 'Hush! Hush!' This took away my sorrow, so that I was able to attend to my duty." [2]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records. [2] *Ibid.*

XX

FATHER JAMES'S SHORT MINISTRY AND EARLY DEATH

THERE are very few records of Father James's ministry, but these few are worth saving: —

"During the ministration of Father James, he visited almost every place where the testimony of the Gospel had been received; teaching, encouraging, and strengthening the Believers. In this time they found a great increase in their faith and understanding and in their power and victory over the nature of evil, and were gradually prepared for that Gospel order and union in things spiritual and temporal, which was afterwards established among them." [1]

Almost the first visit Father James made was to the Square House at Harvard. In spite of the memories of the cruel persecutions that clung to the place, there was a special sentiment attached to it — it being so wholly associated with the most important period of Mother Ann's life.

For the intimate details of the life there we search for some record from Sister Jemima Blanchard, and we find this account of Father James on one of his visits to his flock there: —

[1] *A Summary View of the Millennial Church.*

"Father James always seemed to feel great delight in the way of God, especially when he could see young Believers rising in the work, and growing in the gifts of God. Sometimes he would set those who had had some privileges, to encourage those who had just set out. He would say to the younger Believers, 'Here are some who have proved the way — they can tell you how it is.' Then he would get back out of the way and see it go on.

"Sometimes it would be quiet, bashful people, but being encouraged by Father's manner, they would break through and go to talking and he would seem to enjoy it very much.

"The last time but one that Father James was here I lived at Jeremiah Willard's; I was (with others) under trials at that time, in consequence of some singular gifts, but we had kept it to ourselves, remembering the advice of our blessed Mother, to wait with patience for a suitable time to make known our trials. I worked in the kitchen, and did the work pretty much alone. Father stepped in the kitchen and spoke to me of the labor I had in cooking for so many, and said God would reward me, and asked me if I had had an opportunity to open my mind. I told him I had not, but had been waiting for one. He said I should be remembered. But having so many to seek, and being desirous to get away without the families knowing when he went, he employed some one to distribute some nuts, or something of the kind which had been given him, among the brethren and sisters, and when they were called for that purpose he slipped out to the barn, took his horse, and started on his journey. When I found that he was gone

I burst into a flood of tears; and having retired to a bedroom I threw myself flat on the floor, thinking I would certainly cry myself to death. I had been in this position but a short time, when I was raised by Father James. He said to me: 'I saw you before me as I was riding away — just as you are now.' I then opened my mind freely and found that he knew all about the cause of my trials. He said he was thankful that we had wisdom enough to wait till we could find the truth.

"The last time that Father James was at Harvard I was living at Jeremiah Willard's, where the South family now is. When Father was about to leave us, the brethren and sisters gathered around him to see him depart. Father got out of his sleigh and walked between the brethren and sisters, and then kneeled down and said, 'Brethren, put off your shoes from off your feet, for the ground whereon we stand is holy.' Father spoke to us for some time, exhorting us to stand faithful to the end. It was a very affecting and impressive scene. It was in the latter part of March, I think, in the year 1787. The ground was very wet, but we regarded it not.

"My sister Phebe told me that that morning she helped get breakfast, and when she went out to get some wood, Father James followed her. As she attempted to take up a large fire-stick, Father took hold of the other end to assist her. She let go of the stick for fear of being bewitched. Father observed it and smiled."

We find also a few words from Brother John Robinson: —

"One time in Father James's day, Brother Abijah Worster was going to Stonington to preach to the world. Father James said to him: 'Don't reprove them for their sins, for you will only get a club on the head if you do it, and it will do you no good. You may hold up Christ and the cross to them.'" [1]

The Shakers held Father James in great esteem and with a real affection. It is recorded of him that he was "so amiable in his deportment, and so winning in his manners, that he often disarmed the most violent opposers of their rage." He was much beloved by those who knew him, both believers and unbelievers.

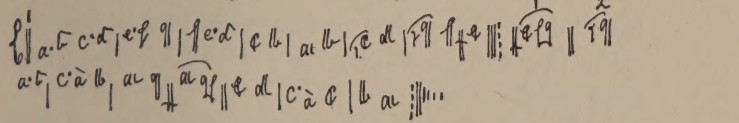
"The sympathetic powers of his soul were such that when he wept it seemed as though no feeling heart could refrain from tears; and when he rejoiced every soul that possessed the life of the Gospel could not but feel the power of his joy, and rejoice with him. He knew how to come to lost souls in every situation, and to administer help in due season. As he was brought up in the Gospel from his childhood, he possessed a remarkable degree of purity of spirit. Indeed, it seemed as though every feeling of his soul breathed purity, righteousness, and love. He often said: 'The Gospel is without fault; it is as straight as straightness; it is pure as the heavens; and if you obey it not, you will lose your souls.' Sometimes he used to say: 'I would willingly lay down my life for my brethren, if I were called to do it, for I feel that degree of love for them that they feel very near and dear to me, like my own soul.'" [2]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.
[2] *A Summary View of the Millennial Church.*

His ministry was short, but very active. It is evident that he felt the responsibility of consolidating this faith which Mother Ann preached so earnestly, before he also should be taken away. For persecution had undermined his strength as it had that of the others, though he did not succumb as soon. There was great sincerity and simplicity in his preaching, as the time of his ministry was evidently drawing to an end.

"You ought to be watchful over your words at all times, and be careful to know that you speak the truth; not tell things that you do not know to be true in such a manner as to deceive others; you ought to represent things as they are, and not deceive one another; it is lying — it is wicked!" And again he would say: "Be what you seem to be, and seem to be what you really are; don't carry two faces. You that dare use deceit, remember what I say; God will yet meet you in a strait place." [1]

The following song was sung next by Father James, after the funeral of Joseph Jewett at Shirley: he walking the room where he died, which was since, their wash house building. Joseph was near to Father James.



Roxalana Grosvenor has left this extraordinary record: —

"Sister Jemima told me that when Father James received favors from those of the Believers who were rich,

[1] *A Summary View of the Millennial Church.*

he would sometimes say smilingly, but with an expression not to be mistaken, 'I won't be bribed.' Father James, in speaking of the increase of the work of God and prophesying of the beauty of Zion, would sometimes say, 'But greater power will never be on the earth than now is'; and certainly their power must have been very great by Sister Jemima's account. She told me she had flown from the Square House to the South House, passing over fences, or whatever came in her way, without touching any material thing." [1]

Sister Jemima went to Enfield on a visit at the time that Father James was there. His strength had finally given out and he was taken with severe suffering. She and a number of others were present when he said, 'Remember this thing and lay it up; don't ever throw yourselves away, though you be fallen ever so low, — it is never too late to cry to God.' This he repeated several times." [2]

"Many were the instructions, exhortations, and solemn warnings which he delivered in the last days of his ministry. When he came near the close of his life he said: 'I have given you my life — all I have I have given unto you.'

"About two weeks before his decease he said: 'My body is under great sufferings, but I feel my soul at peace with God and man. I have given you the Gospel; now

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records. Many instances of levitation are recorded among the Shakers.

[2] *Ibid.*

see to it what kind of use you make of it. If you keep the Gospel, the Gospel will keep you. I have given my life for the people, and after I am gone there will be a great increase.'

"A little before his decease there came a number of the brethren and sisters who went to his room to take their leave of him. On entering the room where he lay, they kneeled down in sorrow and tears and in prayer to God, feeling sensible that this would be the last time they should ever see his face in this world. 'I feel weak in body,' he told them, 'but comfortable in my spirit. I desire you would give my love to the people where you go, and tell them that I am alive and that I never expect to die; for the sting of death is taken from me, and all fear and terror; yet I expect soon to put off this earthly tabernacle. Farewell.'

"When he was dying a number of the brethren and sisters were at his bedside. On enquiring how he felt, he said: 'My sufferings are exceeding great; but that peace and consolation which I feel in my soul overbalances them all. That peace and comfort which I feel in the Gospel I would not exchange for a thousand such worlds as this. If you hold out to the end, you will feel that peace which I now feel.' [1]

"After a while his breath came shorter and his voice fell to a whisper, though he was conscious up to the end.

"And so Father James died at the age of thirty-seven on the 20th of July, 1787.

"At Father James's decease, the funeral was attended the following day, and the scene was very affecting to

[1] *A Summary View of the Millennial Church.*

all Believers, who viewed him as their Elder and Father, and the last of those faithful ministers of Christ who had brought the Gospel of salvation to this land and who had been called to stand in the ministry." [1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

XXI

THE VINDICATION OF MOTHER ANN'S CHARACTER

SUCH is the story of Mother Ann and the Elders as told in the old Shaker records. However extravagant the tenets of their religion and fantastic their form of worship, they had the courage of their convictions and were willing to undergo continual suffering in its cause. Indeed, it can be said that they died as a result of the persecution that was meted out to them.

There is no attempt made in this book to analyze the strange intricacies of their interpretation of the Scriptures. There is also no use in it, because it belongs to a day long past — to one of those periods in the world's history when a sign in the heavens was looked for — "when your sons and daughters shall prophesy — when your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams." As the Eldress said, "We are looking at life to-day from a different angle."

The laws of psychology, which are studied with such close attention at the present time, can account for much that seemed incomprehensible in the days of Mother Ann's ministration, when all strange happenings were believed to be supernatural. Unaccountable things do happen when emotional religious enthusiasm gets charged with hysteria; for science has not yet fathomed all the powers lying fallow in the mind and in the unexplored regions of the soul, nor the compelling, indrawing attraction that some of them possess. No one could tell

who would suddenly become stirred by the subtle vibrations that emanated from the Square House. The Shakers did not know it themselves. They felt the power and used it, and sincerely thought that by so doing they were proving their right to consider themselves to be the Chosen People. No one who has any knowledge of their history can doubt their sincerity in this belief, and this claim of the Shakers to the right to use these mysterious forces was the real cause of the violence of the persecution of which they were the victims; for underneath the hatred and antagonism of those who were opposed to them was the deeper and more penetrating emotion of superstitious fear.

Who can read these old records and not be touched by the childlike quality of faith possessed by the followers of Mother Ann? And who would be willing to suffer persecution unless that faith were genuine? There could have been no great pleasure in being beaten and buffeted and execrated day after day, and month after month, and year after year. But their enemies refused to concede even this much to them. There have been books written against them that deal in such exaggerations as to cause the reader to marvel at the ingenuity of the imagination displayed: page after page of horrible accusations, such as tying ropes under the arms of some unfortunate novitiates and dropping them into a well to remain dangling in water all night, and of dragging others by the hair around the house and maltreating them so severely as to cause death, when they would be secretly buried and the mystery covered up, and of drunken orgies, and witchcraft and hypocrisy. It was against

Mother Ann especially that these accusations were hurled, but Father William and Elder James came in for their share as well. They even went so far as to state that Mother Ann and Father William wrought themselves up to such a furious temper, in a discussion as to who should succeed in the ministry after her death, that they wrestled with each other in the fiercest kind of battle, belaboring each other unmercifully, while Elder James stood by with the followers declaring that they were "beholding war in Heaven," and that "Right would prevail," and as a result of this pugilistic encounter Father William died a few days afterwards, closely followed by Mother Ann!

After the shameful treatment of the Shakers at George Darrow's at New Lebanon, many of the inhabitants felt outraged and ashamed that such a thing could happen in their town, and after Mother Ann's death much criticism was made regarding it. As a result, a number of those who had been in the mob got together as old men forty years afterwards, and wrote out affidavits to the effect that on the day of the mob Mother Ann was so intoxicated that she did not know what was happening to her. Let those who prefer to believe these things do so; but how little do they tally with the quaint simplicity of the old Shaker records and journals!

Here is an anecdote from one of them that it is well to place right here: —

"When Mother and the Elders were at Asa Bacon's, the leaders of a mob insisted upon seeing Mother Ann.

'We hear,' said they, 'that she ran away from her own country — that she had been cropped and branded, and had her tongue bored through for blasphemy; and we want to see for ourselves.'

"Mother Ann came out of the house at their request. 'What do you want of me?' asked she. They replied by repeating these reports. 'Will you believe your own eyes?' said Mother. 'We shall be obliged to,' replied the leader. 'Then come near,' said Mother Ann, 'and see for yourselves.' She then turned up her cap and showed her ears, and said, 'See if my ears have been cropped, and see if my forehead has been branded.' Then, showing her tongue, she said, 'See if my tongue has been bored.'

"After they had seen, and examined for themselves, Mother asked, 'What do you think now?' 'I think,' the leader replied, 'that they tell damned lies about you!'" [1]

Sister Rachel Spencer, who was with Mother Ann continually, wrote the following testimony of her in 1826: —

"With regard to Mother Ann, who was so much persecuted while living, and whose character has been so scandalized by the wicked since her decease, I can truly say I bless God that I ever found such a Mother! I can testify before all people that I ever found her remarkable in all piety and godliness, and a swift witness against

[1] *Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelations, and Doctrines of Mother Ann Lee.* (Albany, 1888.)

every evil propensity and everything that pertained to the depravity of a fallen nature. She was ever faithful in strengthening and confirming the feeble, relieving the buffeted, comforting the afflicted, cheering the sorrowful, building up the good, and purifying out the evil.

"As to her character and conduct, I never felt under any necessity of going to her enemies for information, nor of listening to the tales of slanderers, 'who know not what they say, nor whereof they affirm,' because I have had sufficient opportunity of knowing her for myself. I can say I have heard, seen, and felt the true and genuine spirit of righteousness which she displayed in all her words and actions. I have seen her undaunted and composed even in times of the bitterest persecution, and saw her meet her enraged persecutors with a calm and unruffled countenance."

In speaking of the day when the mob attacked the Shakers at George Darrow's, in New Lebanon, on the journey back to Niskayuna, Sister Rachel Spencer says that before the mob came —

"We had a joyful and happy meeting. Mother was very bright and cheerful, and her soul seemed to be filled with divine power and love. No candid and reasonable person could have entertained the least suspicion of her being intoxicated as her ungodly persecutors afterwards reported. After much exercise, the night being far spent, Mother retired to a small bedroom on the lower floor, and the Elders upstairs. I was very early employed in the

kitchen, with a number of the sisters, in preparing breakfast and putting the house in order; and we had nearly finished our work when the mob came. The house was at that time clean and decent and all was still and quiet, when suddenly we were beset on every side by a large gang of unprincipled wretches in mob array. The principal rooms below were nearly filled with brethren and sisters, who endeavored to keep the mob out; but regardless of remonstrances or entreaties they rushed in like furious tigers. A number of them burst into the kitchen and furiously assaulted the sisters who were collected there. We strove with all our strength to keep them back, but in vain. They seized and hurled us out of doors, one after another, with the utmost violence. I was thrown out and beaten so that my flesh was black and blue in spots all over me. Many other of the brethren and sisters shared the same fate. Several doors were broken to pieces; the ceiled partition of the little room where Mother had retired was torn down flat to the floor; and she was hauled out and thrown into the carriage without any ceremony. When they left the house it looked shockingly.

"Had she been guilty of the base things charged against her by her enemies they would have had no occasion to continue their accusations down to this day; for both she and the Society which she planted would have been sunk in oblivion many years ago. 'The tree is known by its fruits, and a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit.'"

Sister Hannah Cogswell writes of these accusations:—

"All the false accusations and slanderous reports that have been spread abroad in the world cannot injure Mother Ann, nor destroy her testimony. And though they may deceive and impose upon the understanding of strangers, yet they cannot alter the feelings of any of her faithful followers, who know the truth by personal acquaintance and actual experience.

"Is it not very singular that those who had very little, if any, personal acquaintance with her, and some, too, who perhaps never saw her except when they came with mobs to persecute her, should pretend to know so much more about her than those who were with her day and night, and knew all her proceedings, and who can confidently say, in the truth and sincerity of their hearts, that they never found any evil in her? Or can rational people be led to believe that we were such dupes and idiots as to be incapable of knowing whether the abominations alleged against Mother and the Elders were true or false, when we had so fair an opportunity? Or will they suppose that we were so blinded by delusion and fanaticism that we could not have seen, at least, some part of these abominations, if anything of the kind had been transacted? The truth is, we were not blinded nor deceived with regard to such things. Mother Ann's testimony was keen enough against everything of that nature to keep us on our watch; and had she been guilty of those things, it would have destroyed our confidence in her at once. But we know these charges to be false, as well as we know they have been reported. I can say, for one, that I have not been led blindfold by a vain imagination these forty-five years past. I know

that she loved righteousness and hated iniquity; and I can bear witness that her soul abounded in goodness and love; and that she was able to minister the same to others, I have seen and felt in numberless instances."

And Sister Thankful Brace wrote the following: —

"As everything in nature brings forth its own likeness; so Mother Ann's gospel has always produced good fruits, — the fruits of righteousness and peace, honesty, justice, and truth. And by these fruits I know it to be the Gospel of Christ, — the foundation of eternal life, — a stream that never is dry; for such it has proved to my soul; it refreshes, strengthens, and comforts me day and night."

In an account of Mother Ann and the Elders written by Elijah Wilds in 1826 he makes the following statement: —

"I can certify, from my own knowledge and experience, that the base accusations that have been heaped upon them by the wicked are without any foundation in truth; for I always found their example to correspond with their testimony. They were prudent, temperate, and charitable people; wise, chaste, and discreet in their language and deportment. Had they been otherwise, I certainly should have known it; for I had far greater opportunity to inform myself, and know the truth about them, than any of their calumniators had. I have also a sure

evidence in my own soul which no calumniator can take from me."

These are some of the tributes paid to the founders of the Shaker religion by their faithful followers, who remembered them with deep and lasting affection.

XXII

THE GATHERING OF THE CHURCH AT HARVARD

A NEW era now begins for the Shakers. Though Father James did much to prepare the way for the future development of Mother Ann's religion, her prophecy was fulfilled in that it devolved upon Joseph Meacham to gather the Believers into the well-organized communistic Society that prospered so notably for over a century. The following extract is from the Harvard manuscript records: —

"Father James was succeeded in the ministry by Joseph Meacham, who was a native of Enfield in Connecticut, born February 11, 1740. He was a man of deep penetration and strong mental powers; he had formerly been a Baptist preacher, and was a leading character in the fore-mentioned Revival at New Lebanon. Lucy Wright, a woman greatly distinguished for her faithfulness, wisdom and discretion, was also chosen and appointed as first leading character in the female line. She was a native of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, born February 5, 1760.

"These two had been eminently useful during Father James's ministry, and had ably supported him in protecting, strengthening, and encouraging the people, and preparing them for the increasing work which was to follow. These were at New Lebanon.

"The third church in order was at Harvard, Massa-

chusetts. Father Eleazer Rand and Mother Hannah Kendall were sent from New Lebanon to gather the people into Church relations at Harvard and Shirley. These two Societies came under Father Eleazer and Mother Hannah and their helpers. Church gathered at Harvard in 1791. The outline of the order of the Society was this: —

"The Communal body of Shakers was divided into three classes, called Families.

"The first, or Novitiate Family, located at a little distance from the Church Family, and composed of all the probationary members, being under the special care, direction, and instruction of four of the Elders of the Church Family, two of each sex, called Novitiate Elders. Here the Novitiates were fitted and prepared for advancement in Shakerism at the will of the candidate, or they were at full liberty to return to the world, if, after a full understanding of the requirements of the order, they did not find themselves in full sympathy herewith.

"If the candidate was bound by ties of matrimony to an unbelieving partner, he was refused admission, unless a separation was the mutual desire of both husband and wife, or a legal separation accomplished under the civil laws of the land. And under such circumstances, if the convert was a husband, he must before admission would be granted, convey to his wife a just share of all his possessions.

"The second, or Junior Family, is composed of those who have come into the order under the same covenant as the Novitiate, but untrammelled by the embarrassments of the matrimonial class and are thus enabled to

devote themselves more freely to the furtherance of spirituality in their own lives, and, in consequence, receive greater enjoyment which comes from the feeling that they are one step further advanced toward perfect Shakerism.

"In this order, as well as in the Novitiate, all are amply provided for in health, sickness, and old age; also they may retain the lawful ownership of all their property as long as they may desire; or they may donate the use of any part, or all, of their property for the mutual benefit of the family with which they are connected, and the property itself may be resumed at any time; or they may dedicate a part, or the whole, and consecrate it forever to the support of the institution.

"The third, or Senior Family, so called the Church Family, is composed of all those who have had sufficient time and opportunity practically to prove the faith of Shakerism; and are prepared to enter freely, fully, and voluntarily into a united and consecrated interest. These covenant and agree to devote themselves and all they possess to the service of God and the support of the Gospel, forever; solemnly promising never to bring debt or damage, claim or demand against the Society, or any member thereof, for any property or service they may have devoted to the use and purpose of the institution. To enter this order of perfect Christianity is the aim and end of every true convert to Shakerism.

"The Ministry is the central Executive of the whole order, and consists of two brethren and two sisters; and in addition to this every regularly organized family in a Society has two Elder Brethren and two Elder Sisters,

THE SHAKER VILLAGE AT HARVARD, MASS.

who have charge of the spiritual affairs, also two deacons and two deaconesses who have care of the temporal business; all other positions of care and trust are filled after the same dual order.

"The Shakers teach that Shakerism, instead of attending solely to the spiritual necessities of man for only one day in seven, cares for and supplies all his temporal, as well as spiritual wants, all the seven days of the week." [1]

Now as the Society began to be fully organized, the rules in every department became more definite. An almost military precision succeeded the haphazard methods of Mother Ann's day, when religious worship might start at any moment of the day or night and continue for hours, and food was taken when it happened to be convenient.

The plan of the houses — their architecture, and their positions on each side of the road — was as uniform as could be made, allowing for the different lay of the land chosen for the villages.

"The sisters live in their respective houses and the brethren in theirs. All rise simultaneously every morning at the signal of the bell, and those of each room kneel together in silent prayer, strip from the beds the coverlets and blankets, lighten the feathers, open the windows to ventilate the rooms, and repair to their places of vocation. Fifteen minutes are allowed for all to leave their sleeping apartments. In the summer the signal

[1] *A Concise History of the United Society of Believers called Shakers*, by Charles Edson Robinson. (East Canterbury, N.H.)

for rising is heard at half-past four, in the winter at half-past five. Breakfast is one and a half hours after rising — in the summer at six, in the winter at seven; dinner always at twelve, and supper at six. These rules are, however, slightly modified upon the Sabbath. They rise and breakfast on this day half an hour later, dine lightly at twelve, and sup at four. Every order maintains the same regularity in regard to the meals.

"All enter the dining-room, the sisters through one door and the brethren through another, and gently arrange themselves at their respective places at the table, then all simultaneously kneel in silent thanks for nearly a minute, then rise and seat themselves almost inaudibly at the table. There is no talking allowed. After eating, all rise together at the signal of the first Elder, kneel as before, and gently retire to their places of vocation, without stopping in the dining-hall, or loitering in the doorways or on the stairs.

"The houses are vacated during the day, except by sisters, who take turns in cooking, making beds, and sweeping. When brethren or sisters enter their house they must uncover their heads and hang their hats and bonnets in the lower corridors, and walk softly, and open and shut the doors gently, and in the fear of God. In a word, the whole house shall be kept sacred and holy unto the Lord.

"Three evenings in the week are set apart for worship, and three for 'union meetings.' Monday evening all may retire for rest at the usual meeting-time, an hour earlier than usual. At half-past seven in the summer, and at eight in the winter, a bell summons all of every order to

their respective dwellings, there to retire, each individual in his own room half an hour before evening worship.

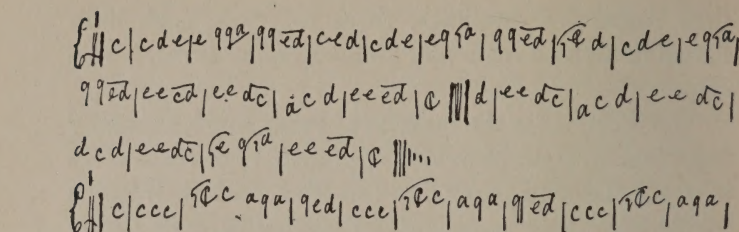
"To retire is for the inmates of every room, generally from four to eight individuals, to dispose of themselves in either one or two ranks, and sit erect, with their hands folded upon their laps, without leaning back or falling asleep, and in that position labor for a true sense of their privilege in the Zion of God. If any chance to fall asleep while thus mentally employed, they may rise and bow four times, or gently shake, and then resume their seats.

"When the half-hour has expired a small hand bell summons all to the hall of worship. All pass the stairs, and enter the hall two abreast upon tiptoe, bowing once as they enter, and pass directly to their place in the forming ranks."[1]

It must have taken the Shakers some time to get used to this new order of things. An entry is found among the unpublished Harvard Shaker Records of this period which is interesting: —

"After Church relation began to be established their meetings were quite different from what they had been in Mother and the Elders' day. Lively dancing pretty much ceased, and the step and shuffling manners were adopted; more in the square order. Some of the exercise was quite slow, such as shuffling to the following songs: —

[1] *Fifteen Years in the Senior Order of Shakers*, by Hervey Elkins. (Dartmouth Press, Hanover, 1858.)


Sr Betty Babbit learned this last song at the age of 10 years, of James Shaise from the Shk. at New Lebanon, when she lived at her father's house, where she was born & lived.

"This was not always so, for although they began their dances quietly, the pace quickened as the ardor increased, but the difference from the old method was, that now, however fast the dance became, there was rhythm throughout."

Father Eleazer, however, could not give up his old ways all at once as the following extract will show: —

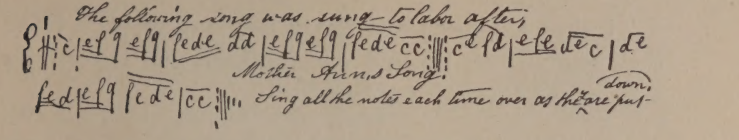
"In a particular meeting in the sisters' chamber, first house, when they were laboring in a lively manner, Father Eleazer, having his coat and jacket off, and being quite sweaty, said to Mother Hannah Kendall: 'Don't I look like Father William? I feel like him!'" [1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

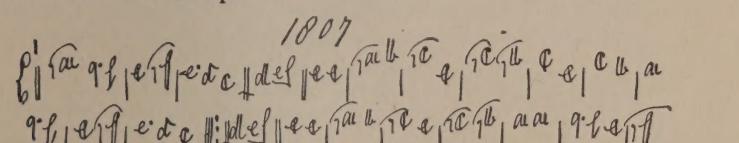
THE SACRED DANCE

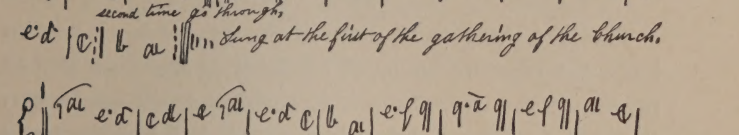
The upturned palms symbolize the receiving of blessings through the hands

The following song was sung to labor after.



"The shuffling and step manner with some variations in their forms and speed, were the principal manner of exercise in the meetings for quite a number of years after the Church was gathered. To stand in their ranks and sing solemn songs without words was often the principal manner of worship."





At the same time the Records state: —

"Mother Lucy, Elder Abiather, Sister Ruth, and Benjamin Bruce came from Lebanon to Harvard. They sung: —

> "'With the help of Mother's Rod
> We'll always keep the way of God.'

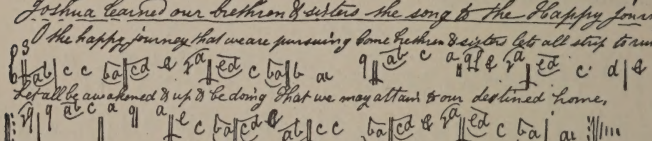
"This was the first of hymns being introduced."

And at the same time —

"Joshua Goodrich and Betty Davis came from Hancock and Joshua learned our brethren and sisters the song of the 'Happy Journey': —

> "'Oh the happy journey we are pursuing,
> Come, Brethren and Sisters, let's all strip to run;
> Let all be awakened and up and be doing,
> That we may attain our destined home.'" [1]

The author has a feeling that Brother Joshua must have composed this upon the spur of the moment.



The first thing to be done in the way of work was to build the meeting-house. The habit of the time was to construct the walls in a horizontal position, and when they were nearly completed they would all be raised and dovetailed together and the building would then stand ready for the finishing touches.

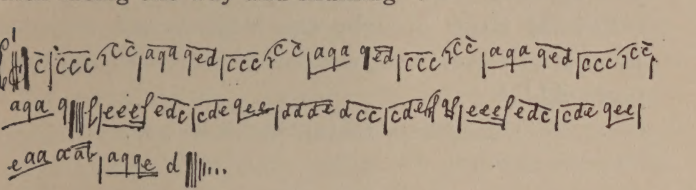
The raising of the meeting-house at the Harvard Shaker Village was accomplished in one night, that time being chosen so that the eyes of the world might not see the process which was looked upon as a sacred rite. It happened in June, 1791.

We find in the Records that Oliver Adams paid £37.7.3 as a gift to the Society and the rest was paid for in the following way: —

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

"Some would bring money and some would bring eatables.[1]

"The following song was sung by Daniel Tiffany at the South house, in the time the Church was gathering. Sister Betty Babbitt was there at the time. This was for the slowest manner of laboring, shuffling around, and then facing one way and shuffling": —



Many converts now came to join the Shakers, and it was in the following manner that the funds of the Community accumulated and helped pay the expenses: —

"Sarah and Betty Babbitt brought each of them a cow and a calf, and five sheep and five lambs. Sarah Keep sold her house and land and brought in the product, £50.

"Deborah Jewett brought three sheep and ten dollars. Joseph Mixer, Jr., moved his family to the Church and brought all his substance; three beds and their furniture, four swarms of bees, cattle, horses, grain and other eatables, and sundry other things to the value of £69.6.7. Elizabeth Crouch brought one large earthen plate.

"Jonathan Wyeth and David Divinal brought with them one sucking pig.

"Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary, and Patience Crouch

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

brought twenty-four yards of check cloth, and Sarah brought sundry other things amounting to £1.8.0. Solomon Frizzle brought 127 pounds of cheese. Mehitable Grace brought one pound of chocolate. Deliverance Cooper brought cloth amounting to £1.5.6.

"Oliver Robertson brought fourteen shillings and a yearling colt.

"Phebe Keep brought one shilling and sixpence. Jonathan Crouch brought a pair of oxen with him three years old." [1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

XXIII

THE REVIVAL OF 1807

In 1800 and 1802 what is known as the "Kentucky Revival" drew the attention of the country to the extraordinary manifestations that took place there. People walking in the streets were suddenly thrown to the ground by some unseen force and would remain unconscious for hours; others were afflicted with painful contortions of the body; others without warning would run on all fours simulating the actions of a mad dog; children would shake and scream with terror. A conviction that evil spirits had taken hold of the people and were martyrizing them became a fixed idea with some, while others maintained that this was a visitation destined to humble the pride of an over-boastful population. Listening to these tales the Shakers became convinced that these unfortunate people could be drawn to Shakerism through their explanation of these strange happenings, so like what had possessed some of their own people in the earlier days. They sent three emissaries out, who made such an impression upon the agitated minds caught in the grip of what they deemed to be a manifestation of disembodied spirits that they established several Shaker villages and so drew them into the fold.

The impression that this made upon the Eastern villages smouldered until 1807, when a distinct quickening of the spirit was felt to such a degree that it flamed

forth into a "Revival," an account of which was found among the old records, and is as follows: —

"Public testimony pretty much ceased being held forth to the world for a number of years. The out families carried on the public meetings at this place, till the time of the Revival, or near that time, which Revival commenced in 1807. They used to come together and sing a solemn song or two, labor two or three songs in the shuffling or step manner, then perhaps sit a spell, then rise and sing another solemn song and dismiss meeting.

"A little sketch concerning the Revival which was the first of the kind that took place since the Church was gathered: —

"Sometime in the summer of the year 1807, the gift of God was given to us to put our hands to work and our hearts to God. And the ensuing fall the gift was renewed to put our hands to work and our hearts to prayer, and wake up to God and come out of our lethargy state; and in obedience to that gift we were not forgotten in other gifts that were as much needed as that. Accordingly, our Parents received a letter from our beloved Mother Lucy at New Lebanon by the hand of Brother Nathan Slate which felt to them like a messenger of God in due time; which was as follows: —

"That in obedience to the above-mentioned gift it had the good effect to shake out and put away everything that was contrary to God, and search the hearts of every creature to see what was there that was contrary to the Gospel. It was also the gift to shake out and put away all jesting and joking, and let it go among the

unclean where it belonged; for Believers that allow themselves in such things were defiled thereby. They are unable to get a garment long enough to hide them before such as take up their cross against such unbecoming conversation.

"And when they read the letter, they were struck with consternation; but soon they felt the power of God run through them like fire. It felt so heavy upon them that they could not bear it alone; accordingly they opened it to the Elders, and then to the brethren and sisters; which ran through them like fire through dry fuel, some leaping, some dancing, some shouting, some speaking with unknown tongues, some turning and some shaking.

"Here the lively dance was again revived among Believers, as well as other former gifts just mentioned.

"It has had the good effect to search our hearts, and purge out everything that was a burden to our souls. And likewise to put away every hard feeling one against another, and in so doing we had gifts of sorrow, and gifts of love, by which we felt greatly refreshed.

"This gift began the 19th of December, 1807, and lasted three or four weeks, although we did not shake at every meeting. Sometimes we had a gift to sit on the floor; sometimes we would have a regular church meeting.

"There was a gift for us, when the Elders feel it necessary, to all meet together and each one pray to God for themselves, knowing their own hearts, and where their greatest infirmity lies; and for every one to pray to God to help them to overcome their greatest infirmity.

"The first such meeting we had was in the evening of the first day of January, 1808, which is to be kept as a memorial.

"Our Parents were in this meeting. They said they felt the gift of God in it, and there must be a little of the manna preserved in the pot. And this was to be the standard. Another gift was to bring us down into the valley of humiliation by singing a little song in which were the following words: —

"'We will walk softly before thee, O God.'

"This is called *The Valley*, which is to be kept through time, that when any one feels their sense too high, to bring them down into the valley of humiliation.

"The Revival remained in its height about six weeks, having meetings at almost any time, and in different places.

"At one particular time Father Eleazer led the way up to the Square House, and they had meeting till between eleven to twelve o'clock. This was of a Monday night. Singing, lively dance, sitting on the floor, and various ways and gifts improved. They sung Mother's and the Elders' songs, together with others.

"In that meeting Father Eleazer spake how it used to be in the first of the Gospel, when great numbers of people were collected here. Sometimes many would be knelt down around the house, praying for repentance and forgiveness of their sins; and others under the trees opening their minds.

"'And,' said Father, 'all these precious gifts and power that we have received come from our Blessed Mother, Blessed Father William, and Father James.'

"In the Revival they would sometimes calculate on having a regular meeting; but before long they would be set down on the floor; speaking in tongues, walking the floor, leaping and turning were more or less the exercises with lively dancing sometimes. Kneeling in the hall might frequently be seen. Then perhaps gather into the meeting room before breakfast or after, as might be, pitch up a song and soon they would gather, and it was easy to feel a flow of the spirit.

"During the Revival Father Eleazer said: 'This shaking came to shake out that which was wrong, that we might inherit the kingdom of Heaven.'" [1]

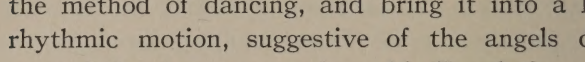
In one of the journals of that time is the following entry which must certainly be added to the rest: —

"June 5 — Tuesday. It is a time of quite a revival here. A gift lately received from Lebanon. This evening the whole Society met in the meeting-house at half-past 6, and continued our meeting four and a half hours. Franklin Hammond had beautiful gifts in tongues in this meeting. Elder Joseph Hammond had a beautiful gift to speak, etc. He also says in his day-book, 'We had the most beautiful and heavenly meeting that I ever experienced, and even had any idea of. I think the manifestation exceeded anything I ever saw of the kind; and the sensations were heavenly, — beyond the power of language to paint.'"

Elder Joseph Meacham died in 1796, and Mother

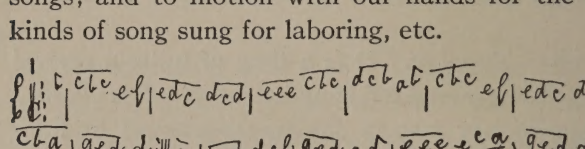
[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

Lucy Wright had full control of the whole order at New Lebanon. She came to Harvard several times and each time paid great attention to the new form of worship, for under her lead a great attempt was made to perfect the method of dancing, and bring it into a kind of rhythmic motion, suggestive of the angels dancing around the throne, as spoken of in Revelation.

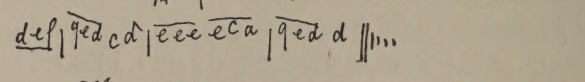


A number of entries are made in the records regarding this. —

"Along about this time some songs began to be motioned with our hands; various motions for different songs; and to motion with our hands for the various kinds of song sung for laboring, etc.



The following song will go for the slow step manner.



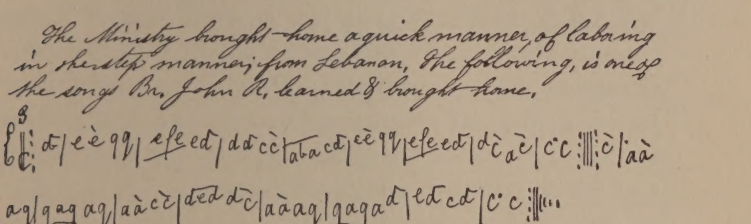
"There was also a manner that Believers placed themselves in, in their afternoon meetings on the Sabbath — the form of an oven, that came from Lebanon somewhere along in these times."

THE SACRED DANCE

The shaking of the hands in this position symbolizes the act of shaking sin and evil magnetism out of the body through the finger tips

An entry under 1813 reads thus: —

"We practised some along these days to go round in a circle single file, a kind of double hop, or a little slip of the foot on the floor."



Now there was one sister who had a very beautiful voice, and the old records still ring with the sweetness of her tones, and make mention of her continually. She evidently took the lead among the singers as they marched through the mazes of the intricate twistings and turnings of the dance. She is spoken of thus: —

"Sister Ascenath was a very beautiful singer in that day, and sung quite a number of beautiful songs which were learned here, namely: —

> "'Come, Brother, cast your anger off
> And every passion bury, —
> Come, souls, and drink your fill,
> Improve each moment,
> The Law was holy, —
> The old Israelites knew
> What it was they must do.'" [1]

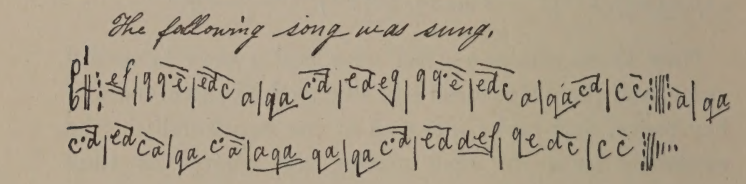
"In the afternoon the Elders went into the lower part of the meeting-house, the Lebanon and our Ministry

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

present. Saw them *travel* which was new to us. What we now call *marching*.

"Saturday evening the brethren and sisters met in the meeting-house. Brother Rufus and Sister Ascenath in meeting. The Elder Brother Caleb spoke that there was a new manner of labor for us; then Brother Rufus stepped forward and said the people of God needed a change of manner; sometimes to labor out, sometimes to shake out, and sometimes to travel out, to travel on to God. We had a beautiful meeting. Brother Rufus and Sister Ascenath sung considerable."

The following song was sung.



The following are extracts from old Shaker journals written at that time: —

"Sept. 23d, 1827. Sabbath evening in meeting Brother Benjamin Wicker spoke to the young people, and told them how he had got along. He said he always went according to the counsel of his Elders; he did not stop to look at it to see if it was right or wrong; he said it was a dangerous thing for any one to reason and criticise upon what their Elders felt best for them, but if he had confidence in the Elders, he could go on and do as they said, and in that way any one was safe, even if their Elder should fall; for he never knew any one to fail that went according to what their Elders taught them.

Father Job then stepped forward and spoke on the above subject. He said if any one could judge his Elder, then he is no Elder to him; and he had no centre; but had got to look somewhere else for a centre.

"Father Job spoke much on this subject while here, for all to keep their centre and follow their Elders; then they would go safe.

"In October the Elders of the Church at Harvard went to Shirley, saw Father Job and his order. Father while speaking said if a person feels under considerable bearing, the best way is to be cheerful under it, for it certainly makes it more agreeable for others, and easier for ourselves to keep up cheerful.

"The same day we were in Elder Brother Asa Brockelbank's room and he spoke of what he heard Father Job say, since he had been at Shirley that time. Father Job said that he was the first that made it known to the people at Lebanon that the first gift was in Father Joseph. This was after the decease of Father James and was made known to Father Job by revelation.

"When Father Job made this known in meeting at Lebanon, Elder John Hocknell dropped on his knees and said, 'Blessed be God.' And they all dropped on their knees and the floor was soon wet with their tears."

"Jan. 10. Monday evening the young brethren and sisters had a singing meeting; before they got through Elder John came in and spoke as follows: 'Young Brethren and Sisters, my labor is for you more than it is for the aged; because I believe the aged are established. I feel nothing but charity to have any one restored as long

as they have one spark of anything in them that wants to be good.' Said Elder John, 'Sabbath morning I was walking the floor, laboring to know whether we were really owned and accepted of God or not; and while I was laboring, it appeared to me that I sensed as it were a great number of disembodied spirits, and they looked upon us and blessed us.' Said Elder John, 'This was a precious gift of God to me.'"

"Sabbath. At 2 o'clock P.M. The Lebanon Ministry, our Ministry, the Elders, brethren, and sisters went into the street and marched, and when we got against the Square House, they came out, and the South family and we marched to the Second family five abreast. We marched to the west side of the house and stopped. They came out and formed on. Then we marched back and into the meeting house, sat down and rested a spell."

In the same manuscript, under the date of February 20, 1821, mention is made of the decease of Mother Lucy at Watervliet.

In telling about her before her death while she was in meeting the narrative says: —

"In the course of the meeting while the brethren and sisters were laboring, Mother called upon all to shake; and they all shook.

"One Sabbath Mother was in their meeting and spoke to the brethren and sisters as follows: Mother said it had been a time to pick up first Mother's crumbs,

and now it is time to pick up Father Joseph's crumbs. Mother said these gifts of laboring were given through Father Joseph and must not be lost. She called upon them to increase in their laboring. She also called upon them to shake; and after they had got through and formed in their ranks Mother called upon all to clap hands; and they had a very lively gift of clapping hands."

It was only a year after the Revival that Father Eleazer Rand's ministry ended. He had been in poor health for some time and when the September sunshine was glorifying the reds and yellows of the woodlands, he breathed his last and his body was laid in the graveyard under the shadow of the pine trees.

His ministry was of short duration, but it was a progressive one, though the records are scarce regarding it; but some of his sayings were inscribed by one of the brethren:—

"Put away the whole of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, so that we may have access to the Tree of Life that bear twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of nations. This shaking came to shake out that which was wrong; that we might inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

"Brethren, be not ashamed of the name of Shaker, for the faith and works that constitute the name of Shaker are worth more than all the riches of this world, with all its pollutions.

"Truth has its abode in the nature of God; it matters not to me where the creature comes from, the spirit of the world is no better in one man than another. Anything outside of the foundation will not answer our purpose.

"Go to perdition all covetousness, and all hard feeling — and all idle talk and all vain jesting!

"Labor to become little, and put away the great *I* and little *you*."

"This was the last meeting that Father came into to speak, or take any care of the meeting, but he remained weak and feeble through the spring and summer.

"He seemed at times to be upon the gaining hand, but soon he had poor turns which seemed to take away his strength, so that we were fully convinced that his work on earth was done. Everything was done that the Believers were able to do for his recovery, but in vain. He said his suffering was for the increase of the Gospel. He was going to prepare the way for other souls to come in and receive the Gospel. He closed his days here on earth in suffering, and departed this life in the ordinary manner November 9, 1808, greatly beloved and respected by all Believers.

"Then the first gift rested in Mother Hannah who at that time was very feeble and weak by reason of so much sufferings. But in the following spring she recovered her strength remarkably, and stood as a pillar in the temple of God."[1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

XXIV

THE WAVE OF MYSTIC SYMBOLISM

We must now pass over the succeeding years until 1842 and 1843, that memorable period when a spiritual unrest took possession of men's minds, stirring aspirations toward a more ideal life. It was not only in our own strangely emotional New England that these unseen currents made themselves felt, but all over the world they circled, igniting the imagination and lifting the eyes, that had been bent downwards upon the earth, up to the far-off heavens, where the great billowy clouds seemed to shape themselves into ideal cities, communities, republics, democracies. A general reaching out from the old fettering restrictions of thought, into a new realization of something fairer and more beautiful to be found in the near future, swelled the hopes of those whose hearts and minds were attuned to these pulsating vibrations. Only fourteen miles away from the Shaker Village, Emerson at Concord, with "his feet on the ground and his head in the clouds," was the centre of a group of men all of whom were looking out with a new vision upon what seemed like a new world. Two miles to the westward, just beyond the Harvard Village, and overlooking the intervale, Bronson Alcott, with Charles Lane and other transcendentalists, were creating their "New Eden" on the old farm they named "Fruitlands." Brook Farm was already established, and throughout the country other communities, brought into manifesta-

tion by this compelling desire for a more altruistic mode of living, were adding their influence to the general demand. The agitation was varied in its expression. With the intellectual it took the form of transcendentalism — while a certain type of the spiritually inclined found satisfaction among the Second Adventists, or Millerites, whose principal community was situated only ten miles or so to the north, at Groton.

In other parts of the country there were strange tales told by the Spiritualists preceding the famous "Rochester Knockings." With the Shakers, who were ever ready to vibrate like the strings of an Æolian harp to all mysterious spiritual influences, this period was marked by an excess of symbolism, intricate and sustained in every department of their daily life, and the whole trend of their religion now turned toward a direct communication with the spirit world. Some day these mysterious waves of thought that pass like electric currents around the world, causing the same ideas and the same desires to spring up simultaneously in widely separated countries and localities, will be better understood.

One of the most influential of the Elders at the head of the "lead" at New Lebanon at this time was named Philemon Stewart. He was a man of indomitable will and great executive ability, and his commands were followed throughout the Society in strict obedience. It was from revelations received by the "lead" at New Lebanon that the rules and regulations were furnished, and when it was announced that "a gift" had come from there, whatever that "gift" was, absolute obedience to it was required.

ELDRESS MARIA FOSTER

Died 1897
Aged 76 years

As has been already stated, every act was performed symbolically at this period, and an interesting account, given by a Shaker who afterwards left the Society, explains some of these rites. The following is his account of cleansing the buildings: —

"In this gift a day is devoted specially to cleansing the outbuildings and the yards about the buildings. This revelation came in 1843. And by it, the 23d of September in every year for ten years is set apart for this purpose. This special revelation and command was received at New Lebanon through the Elder, Philemon Stewart, to this effect. A little book containing the revelation is read in the several families throughout the denomination on the evening previous to the day for cleansing. The requirement is that on the morning of that day we rise at four o'clock, which is a half-hour earlier than usual. At half-past four the family must assemble in the meeting-room of their dwelling. It is required of every one to make a low bow as he or she enters the room. [The bowing was dispensed with in 1844.] After taking their places in the meeting-room, they must sing the following song — entitled the 'Voice of God.' The following are the words: 'I will roar, roar, roar, yea, I will howl, howl, howl, in my fury, saith the Lord, because of the abominations that rest in my Zion. And I will send forth a curse, curse, curse, yea, I will send forth a heavy curse upon the inhabitants that dwell in her.' Then all kneel down in prayer and while on our knees we bow three times. We eat no meat that day, but live 'light,' and for our supper we have nothing

but bread and water. A band of singers is selected from among the brethren by the Elders, and march with the Elders in solemn procession through every room, in all the brethren's workshops and other outbuildings, repeatedly singing, as they pass along through every room and building, the song quoted above. It is said they shall sing it 'with shame and confusion.' And every time they sing the words, 'And I will send forth a curse, curse, curse,' the Elders shall stamp their feet with indignation. And when they come to any place where they believe there is any uncleanness, they shall shake. These are the exercises of the forenoon. In the afternoon, commencing at one o'clock, they march through all the fields in the same manner repeating the same song and ceremonies.

"A band of singers is also chosen from among the sisters, who march with the Eldresses in solemn procession in the forenoon through the sisters' workshops, nurse-rooms, the laundry, etc., with the same ceremonies, singing repeatedly the above song, shaking and stamping as they go. In the afternoon they pass through the yards, and about the building repeating the same ceremonies. In the evening after our supper of bread and water, the dwelling-house is gone over in the same manner as the shops and fields in the daytime — with this exception however: instead of the above song the following is sung. It is entitled 'Cleanse your Sanctuary.' The following are the words: —

"'Purify your hearts, O my children, cleanse your sanctuary clean, clean your dwellings and prepare for holy Mother to meet you.'

"The Eldresses and singing sisters go through all the rooms occupied by the sisters, singing as they go: the Elders and singing brethren through those occupied by the brethren, singing as they go. The rest of the brethren and sisters must be in their several rooms during the performance. Thus ends the day. The employment of all the brethren and sisters, save the Elders and singers, is cleaning every dirty or filthy place on the premises, mending broken windows, putting things in place, etc. No other work is to be done during the day and no songs are to be sung but those quoted above, or others that are like it."

His account of the "Warring Gift" as sent from New Lebanon has a strangely weird ring to it: —

"When any one is lacking in obedience or does not willingly coöperate with the spirit of a meeting, they are subjected to a warring gift. One sister commences crying, 'Woe! woe! woe! woe!' and is soon joined by several others — 'woe! woe! to them that should leave the ways of God, or oppose it.' And they accompany these imprecations with a general concert of groaning, shouting, shaking, stamping, and altogether create a tumult which is indeed a caution to the unfaithful." [1]

"When any one is spoken of as being under 'operations' it means jerking of the head, bowing and twisting, rolling the eyes and contorting the face and throwing the arms about."

[1] *Two Years among the Shakers*, by David R. Lamson. (1848.)

One very picturesque gift that came from New Lebanon in the spring of the year was to sow the seeds of Love, Truth, Hope, Charity, and all the virtues, in the fields before the planting began. Groups of the brethren could be seen sowing imaginary handfuls of seed the length and breadth of one field, while an equal number of sisters would be doing likewise in another. In this manner every field belonging to the Shakers was sown with the spiritual seed of all the cardinal virtues before any material seed was planted, in order that a special blessing should rest upon the growing crops.

The account given of a meeting at this time is as follows: —

"When the Elders exhort the brethren and sisters to go forth in the travel manner: —

"The singers, about six or eight or more of them, placed themselves in the centre of the room, in two ranks, the one facing the other, sisters facing sisters, and brethren facing brethren. The remainder formed a circle around them, three abreast — the brethren by themselves forming one segment of the circle, and the sisters by themselves forming the other. The children form the inside file of the circle. The singers then strike up a march which they sing over four or five times, repeating once each part of the tune every time; while the company march, and all, both singers and laborers, beat the time with their hands. Each placing his two hands before him in a horizontal direction moves them up and down in time with the tune. When the tune ceases all stop until another tune is struck. After a few tunes in

THE SACRED WHIRLING DANCE WHICH INDUCED THE GIFT OF PROPHECY WHEN THE DANCER FELL IN A TRANCE

this way, Elder Brother says the brethren and sisters may take their places to go forth in the quick manner. Then they take their places; the sisters in the east part of the hall, and the brethren in the west, leaving a space between. The sisters form a line in front of a seat which runs east and west on the north side of the hall standing about middle way. The company stand facing the singers, the Elders being in front and nearest the middle of the hall from east to west. When a tune is struck up, they turn, the brethren to the left, and the sisters to the right, and perform a sort of trotting step, each company around its own division of the room until the set of the tune, when all turn facing the singers and shuffle. This continues for about three minutes and another tune is struck. At the interval of the tunes there is sometimes speaking. Some brother or sister expresses their thankfulness for their privilege in the Gospel, and express their determination to be obedient to their beloved Elders, and keep the way of God. Sometimes the Elders exhort the brethren and sisters to be zealous, and labor for the 'gifts and power of God.' In these exhortations, the Elders manifest great zeal and energy themselves.

"As these exercises continue, the zeal increases, the whole company frequently clap their hands in concert. Some begin and turn around with great rapidity, some leap and shout and talk in unknown tongues, and sing in unknown tongues. All this time the young sisters continue their turning, and they must not be checked because it is by the inspiration of God that these things are done. They often fall prostrate upon the floor and all animation seems lost for a season. There is frequently

with them a crouching and bowing, as though affected with a shock of electricity."

Another account is given which is equally interesting by Charles Edson Robinson in a pamphlet called "The Shakers," which gives more idea of the symbolism: —

"When a tune was started they began a march in a circle around the centre of the room, the brethren two abreast, leading the column, the sisters following after in sections of three abreast. In this march there was a waving movement of the hands by drawing inward, as if gathering in spiritual good and storing it up for the necessities of the week.

"Occasionally there was a clapping of hands in perfect concert, this being repeated for several times in succession. In the marching and counter-marching, the worshippers frequently changed their positions, the brethren reducing their ranks to two abreast, while the sisters increased their ranks to three, and while in this position the singers stood in the centre, the others encircling them twice in their marching. Then again they formed in single file and marched around the central body ultimately forming into four circles, with the singers as a common centre. This was afterwards explained as symbolical of the four 'dispensations' as expounded in Shakerism. The first from Adam to Abraham; the second from Abraham to Jesus; the third from Jesus to Mother Ann; and the fourth, the 'Millennial' which the Shakers claim they are now enjoying as the triumphs of their religion.

"The following hymn was usually sung to the marching: —

> "'I shall march through Mount Zion
> With my angelic band,
> I shall pass through the city
> With my fan in my hand,
> And around thee, O Jerusalem,
> My armies will encamp,
> While I search my Holy Temple
> With my bright burning lamp.'

"At the close of the singing, one of the sisters began to rock her body to and fro; at first gently, then in a more violent manner, until two of the sisters, one on each side, supported her else she would have fallen to the floor. She appeared to be wholly unconscious of her surroundings, and to be moved by an invisible power. The shaking of the subject continued to increase in violence, and it was with great difficulty that she could be restrained from throwing herself forcibly to the floor. Her limbs became rigid, her face took on an ashen hue, her lips moved, and she began to speak in a clear distinct voice, every word of which penetrated every part of the room which was as still as death. Every eye was on the recipient of the gift, every ear open to catch each word as it fell from her lips. She spoke of the shortness of life, of the absolute necessity of abandoning the world and its sinful pleasures before it was too late; that in Shakerism was embodied all the virtues, and none of the vices of mankind; that through her the spirit of Mother Ann was speaking to every Shaker present to remain steadfast to the faith and they would enjoy the richest of Heaven's blessings — an eternity of bliss.

"For the space of fifteen minutes she spoke rapidly,

yet impressively, her whole frame shaking from head to foot. Gradually the 'spell' left her, and her limbs relaxed as she sank into a seat completely exhausted."

There is an account of a young man who had the temerity to join in one of these sacred dances in a mocking spirit.

"As the dance progressed he suddenly tripped and fell. One of the clairvoyants, or 'instruments,' as they call them, instantly sprang forward, passed his hands with great rapidity over him as though binding him with invisible cords, and then returned to the dance. The clairvoyant's eyes were closed, as indeed were the eyes of all while in that condition. The young man vainly struggled to rise, to turn, or hardly to move. He was fettered, bound fast by invisible manacles. The brethren were summoned to witness the sight. In the space of about half an hour the clairvoyant loosened his fetters and he arose mortified and confounded."

Sometimes at a meeting an Elder from New Lebanon or from Enfield or one of the other Societies would be present, and announce that he had brought baskets full of gifts for the brethren and sisters — some would be from Mother Ann, some from Father James and Father William, and many other departed spirits. These presents were accompanied by attending angels. The baskets, gifts, and angels were invisible to all except to the mediums, who would describe them to the company.

THE AVENUE LEADING TO THE HOLY HILL OF ZION AT THE SHAKER VILLAGE, HARVARD, MASS.

The whole audience of brethren and sisters were requested to walk up and receive an invisible chain of gold which symbolized love. Each one would bend the head as if a chain were being passed over it. After all had received a gift, great joy and gratitude would be expressed in the dance.

In the year 1842 a very important revelation was received at New Lebanon, the knowledge of which was imparted to all the Societies, with the command to follow it in every detail. The revelation required that each Society should prepare a holy place of worship upon a hilltop as near at hand as could be found; the exact spot, however, would be designated through an inspired medium. Every Society had a different name for this holy spot. At Harvard it was called the Holy Hill of Zion, and it is close to the Shaker Village.

A very beautiful avenue of maples that arches overhead led to a wood road that wound around the hill until the top was reached. Here the brethren were told to remove the trees, roots, stones, and everything that rendered the ground uneven for about three eighths of an acre in the form of a square, and to smooth it and seed it down so that it would be like a beautiful lawn. This was surrounded by a fence. In the centre a low fence surrounded a small space in the form of a hexagon. In the centre of this the Fountain of Life was supposed to flow. At the north end of this small spot a marble slab was erected from three and one half to four feet high. On this monument the following inscription was carved on one side: —

Written and placed here
By the Command of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

THE LORD'S STONE

Erected upon this Holy Hill of Zion
November 23d, 1843.

Engraved at Harvard.

On the other side, which faced the fountain, was inscribed: —

For the healing of the Nations, who shall here seek my favor. And I will pronounce all people who shall come to this fountain, not to step within this enclosure, nor place their hands upon this stone while they are polluted with sin. I am God the Almighty in whose hands are judgment and mercy. And I will cause my judgments to fall upon the wilful violator of my commands in my own time according to wisdom and truth, whether in this world, or in Eternity. For I have created all souls, and unto me they are accountable.

Fear ye the Lord.

The Shakers held all day meetings on the Holy Hill, and here the worship in the dance was especially intricate and ecstatic. Round and round the fountain they would whirl in rhythmic motion, swaying in unison, marching, singing, hour after hour; and here the "instruments" would hold converse with the departed spirits: the apostles, the prophets of old, the famous dead of all nations — the great among the Egyptians, Indian chiefs, Arab sheiks, the French prophets, — all these disembodied spirits held converse with the worshippers through the mediums and clairvoyants. It has been recorded that at one meeting on the Holy Hill during this period forty thousand such spirits were seen encircling the hilltop like a great and mighty host of

witnesses, and remained there during the hours spent in worship.

"The day for meeting upon the mountain is with the Shakers a glorious day, a day of rejoicing and a feast of fat things. All are elated with the idea of going onto the mountain; both old and young seem equally elated — all go who are able to walk, and some who are not able to walk, ride, though it is a steep and difficult way for horses and vehicles." [1]

It was very distasteful to the Shakers to allow visitors upon the Holy Hill, as the mystic symbolism of the worship was only intelligible to themselves. Here it became more intricate and involved than at any other time, and they made the claim that here the supernatural revelations received were startlingly clear and definite. At this time Elder Philemon Stewart at New Lebanon announced that an angel of the Lord had bade him write a book, which was called "The Sacred Roll and Book" and which set forth the commands from Heaven.

On the title-page is written: —

"A Holy Sacred and Divine Roll and Book from the Lord God of Heaven, to the inhabitants of earth; revealed to the United Society at New Lebanon, County of Columbia, State of New York, United States of America. Printed in the United Society, Canterbury, N.H. 1843."

The binding of this book was done by the Shakers at Harvard, and much mention is made of it in the journals

[1] *Two Years among the Shakers*, by D. B. Lamson.

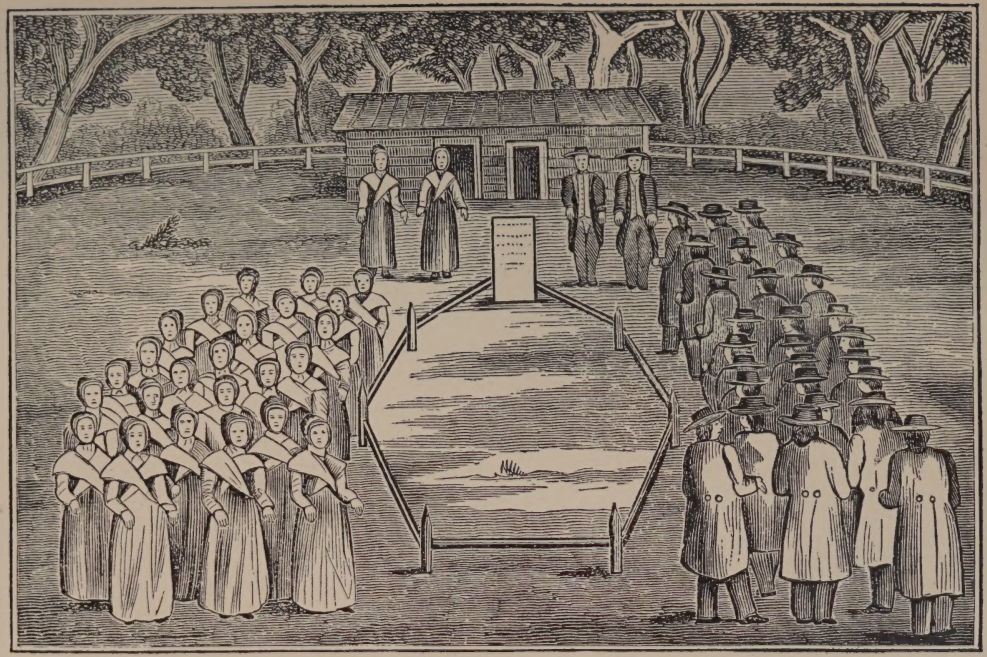
and records. The order was given that it should be read at stated times throughout the Society, but that has long since ceased to be done. The book was an excessive outburst, in keeping with the Spiritualistic tendencies that held such complete sway among the Shakers at this period, and which reached to such a point that a reaction set in from which they have never recovered.

Now another gift came from New Lebanon at four different times, of which only a slight mention will be made, though the full account is among the Harvard Shaker Records. There were three visitations from "Holy Mother Wisdom" in 1841 and 1842.

While the fundamental tenet of the Shaker religion is the dual nature of the Almighty, the exaggerations which spread through the symbolism of their worship became so insidious as to permeate their belief through and through, until the point was reached when the abstract feminine quality of Wisdom was brought down to the personal plane and called "Holy Mother" and given a voice with which to impart knowledge through mediums to the eagerly waiting Believers. Apparently "Holy Mother" visited every room and every building in the village, followed by all the brethren and sisters, and these she blessed, and she likewise spread her blessings over every building and every acre of land, so that all might prosper.

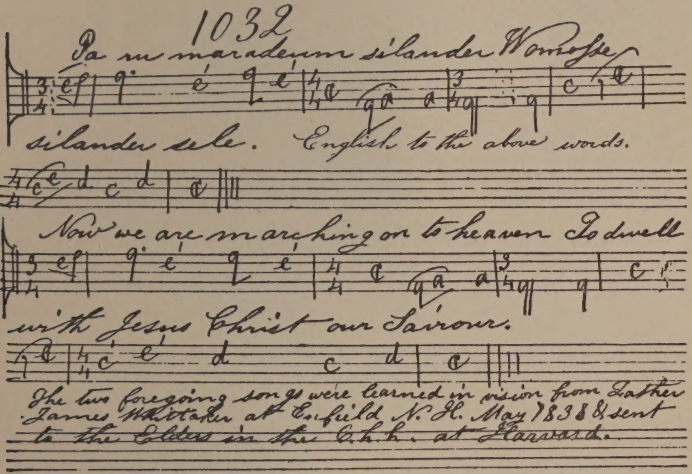
Speaking of this visitation the following entry is made in one of the journals written in 1841: —

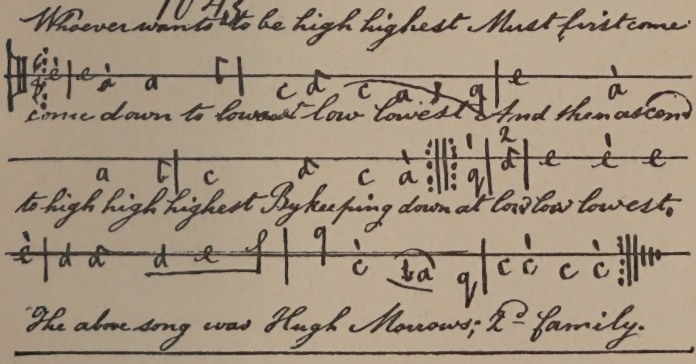
"One morning as we arose from the breakfast table, She, with all the captivating beauty of Wisdom, reveals



THE SACRED DANCE ON THE HOLV HILL OF ZION

the purpose of her visitation, and says, 'I have come to set my house in order, and to complete and fortify the walls of my Zion.' She counsels where to find her and invites us into the low and pleasant valley of humiliation: 'For,' says she, 'I am found there, and there I bless the humble soul.'"


1032
Da ne maradenne silander Wonosse
silander sele. English to the above words.
Now we are marching on to heaven To dwell
with Jesus Christ our Saviour.
The two foregoing songs were learned in vision from Father James Whitaker at Enfield N. H. May 1838 & sent to the Elders in the C. H. L. at Harvard.


1042
Whoever wants to be high highest Must first come
come down to lowest low lowest & find then ascend
to high high highest By keeping down at low low lowest.
The above song was Hugh Morrows; R.ᵈ family.

On Thursday evening December 30, there is another entry made. In speaking of the meeting it says: —

"Many bright and holy angels, blessed Mother Ann, Father William, Father James, and a great number of Ancient Saints and departed spirits attend.

"Whenever Wisdom spoke, all her instruments witnessed and bowed, saying, 'This and thus hath said Holy Mother Wisdom.'

"This was a beautiful and solemn time, strong, powerful, and feeling were the words of inspiration. The great power and gift that pervaded the duration of the meeting, and the number inspired, rendered it one of the most eventful times of the eventful day."

The third visitation is much the same, but to show the feeling that this symbolism created among the Shakers, the following entry of one of the journals is given: —

"As soon as the farewell is sung Wisdom addresses the 'lead' in Zion, and says: 'O ye holy Anointed, what more can I do to comfort and strengthen you and the little ones under your care? Have I not done all I can for you.' 'Yea' (answered Elder Grove). 'Well, then, *fare ye well, fare ye well, fare ye well,* my little faithful suffering band!'

"As these words are pronounced under insupportable grief, all suddenly fall on their faces to the floor, and then give vent to inexpressible sorrow."

Another handwriting inserts this closing entry: "Thus closed the most striking, sublime, solemn, and beautiful manifestations ever made to mortals."

In the fourth visitation the voice of the Almighty is heard through the mediums. The journals abound in cheerfulness during this experience, and one of the entries is here given: —

"August, 1844. Love, joy, simplicity, and freedom greatly abound and seem to have taken possession of and to reign in the hearts of the brethren and sisters.

"Soon after the labor is begun in evening meeting the holy prophet Jeremiah is announced and cordially welcomed. The good old prophet gives us freely of his love. Certainly all ought to give thanks and praise to that God who so bountifully bestows his gifts and his blessings.

"While we were in meeting the rain fell in such copious showers as to flood the ground and the water ran like a brook in the street. This occurrence Elder Grove said impressed him that the blessing of God would descend in like bountiful manner." [1]

The following verses in unknown tongues were received through inspiration during this period of overwrought religious revivalism. Those written in English were also inspired.[2]

Specimens of Songs in Unknown Tongues

"O calvini criste I no vole,
Calvini criste liste um,
I no vole vinin ne viste,
I no vole viste vum." N. R.

"Hi condi re ve um si hon lene ve lon O,
Vi nick ane asked on vande sack ane O le,
Mu ne on a ke ve le O hick ane has ca volon,
Si ne um a ve ve lom on hi nis ka sen a ke hola." N. R.

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records. [2] See Appendix.

"Cero vera ascenda hanya monev vale
Silo vera allma oye vando calise
Vo ve cali se lon an ni dins wurdo
O lo va li se me selon mace dan ya va."

"Concave van eve va cana vana do,
Van eke wan awe ve cana vane,
Wan gne sana gne ve nana vane co,
Sana se fana ve se ol ca nane."

"O gue won wiste wa,
We gnon guistu ka,
Cuo con ristu we,
Wo zon zane ke
Gue wain wisna guo
Ze nain gnisna woo
We sain win no haw,
Ka ween na na wah."

"Oh we will praise our Maker, yea, we even will
Ki lo vin sa vo van vos onena vil,
Care van se neve cara van se ve
I le vin se vo van vos onena va."

"I lo le vitica vum vole os ca nere von,
I lo le viteca vum se ra os ca nera von,
I le viteca vole vum se ra os ca nere von,
I le viteca vole vum se ra os ca nana."

The last of these is often sung in their meetings, in a march, as they "labor" or march.

"Selera vane van vo canara van se lava
Dilera van se lane cinara van se vo,
'T is Mother's Holy love, love, she sent it by her dove, dove,
'T was vane van se vane, 't will ever more endure."

1838

"Come let us labor to be free,
Now's the time to travel
In the way we should be
Free from every evil."

"The grinding work is going on,
It is the work of Mother,
And when we've ground up every wrong,
Then we shall love each other,
We'll labor for more life and zeal
And we will be more simple
Then we shall always know and feel
That we are Mother's children.[1]

1837

O do feel more life
More love and union
Now is the time to gather love
Pure love and union.
Strive, strive to gather in
Gather in your portion
Now's the time to be free,
Come be in motion."

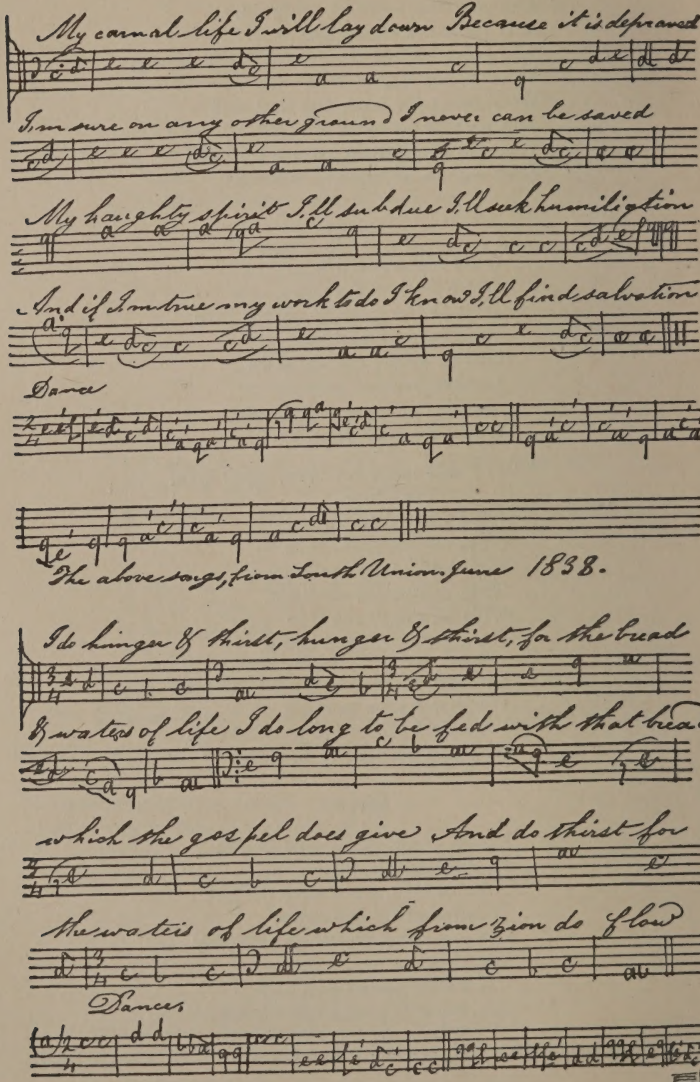
"O I will labor for love, love, love,
Pure love,
Oh I will labor for love
Pure self-denying love —
This will make me happy,
This will make me pure,
This will land me safe
On Zion's peaceful shore

Oh how I love to sing and dance
Oh how I love to labor
Oh how I love to play the harps
Of Jesus Christ my Saviour." [2]

1838

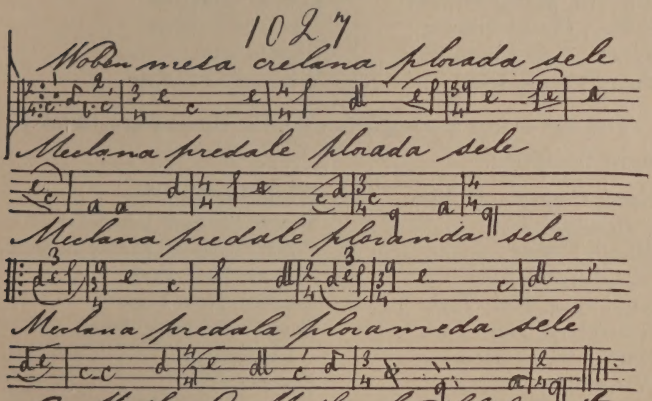
"Come, come ye virgins bright
In worship all unite
Now in this, we'll take delight
'T is beautiful behavior.
Give us room to dance and play
We have put our sins away
Lo! we stand in open day
And we will praise our Saviour."

[1] Harvard, 1838. [2] Hymn written at Harvard in February, 1838.


My carnal life I will lay down Because it is depraved
I'm sure on any other ground I never can be saved
My haughty spirit I'll subdue I'll seek humiliation
And if I'm true my work to do I know I'll find salvation
Dance
The above songs from South Union June 1838.
I do hunger & thirst, hunger & thirst, for the bread
& waters of life I do long to be fed with that bread
which the gospel does give And do thirst for
the waters of life which from Zion do flow
Dance

"Now on this highly favored land
Let us like faithful soldiers stand,
For God in justice will demand
According to our measure.
Then let no one their trust betray
To seek their own self-pleasing way,
But move along this holy way
With cheerfulness and pleasure."

"Love, love, love is a blessing
It is worth possessing —
Mother's love is precious and pure,
So I will labor for love, love, love,
Mother's love will always endure." [1]



O Mother O Mother how blessed thou art
I love thee sincerely sincere from my heart
Thy gospel is blessed yea precious & pure
I love it I'll keep it it will forever endure.

I suppose the English is the translation.
This song was given and sung in a gift
in the Ch'ch's meeting at Enfield Ct. N.
the sabbath evening William Clark was there
March 25th 1838.

[1] Hymns written in 1837. Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

It was but fitting that in the midst of so much mysticism the different Societies should have their spiritual names, only known by the Shakers. The following list was found with other papers among the records: [1] —

Spiritual names of the different Societies of Believers

New Lebanon, New York	Holy Mount
Watervliet, New York	Wisdom's Valley
Hancock, Massachusetts	City of Peace
Enfield, Connecticut	City of Union
Tyringham, Massachusetts	City of Love
Harvard, Massachusetts	Lovely Vineyard
Shirley, Massachusetts	Pleasant Garden
Enfield, New Hampshire	Chosen Vale
Union Village, Ohio	Wisdom's Paradise

The list is not a complete one, for there were twenty-eight Societies.

North Canterbury, New Hampshire	White Water, Ohio
Alfred, Maine	Shaker Station, Connecticut
Gloucester, Maine	West Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Niskayuna, New York	Sonyea, New York
Groverland, New York	Canaan, New York
North Union, Ohio	East Canterbury, New Hampshire
Watervliet, Indiana	Dayton, Ohio
Pleasant Hill, Kentucky	Shakers, New York
South Union, Kentucky	Narcoossee, Florida.
Sabbathday Lake, Maine	

There were no spiritual names entered for these.

1837

Good evening, my friends,
And how are you to-night?
We'll see you in meeting
With pleasing delight;

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records. See Appendix.

We wish you all happy
With blessing and peace,
And ready to labor
For further increase;
And while we proceed
May the treasures of love,
Come flowing upon us
From heaven above;
May angels attend
Our devotions to-night,
And freely assist us
To worship aright.[1]

---

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

XXV

THE HARVARD SHAKER INDUSTRIES

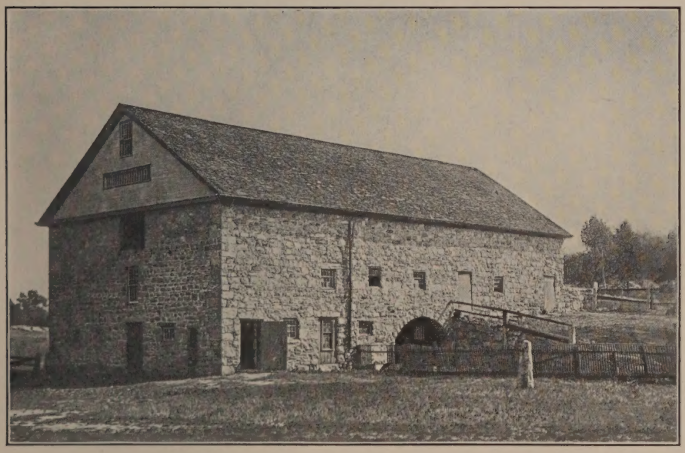
Up to this point the religious side of the Shaker history has been given here, as found in the old records. But the other side — the industrial part of it — is equally unique and interesting, for they were exceedingly prosperous despite the time given to the things of the spirit.

Mother Ann's injunction of "Hands to work and hearts to pray" was literally followed. Work was made a part of their religion, and so became an act of piety, and the most menial service thus acquired a dignity of its own. Worship and work intermingled and became part of each other, and the life of the Shaker was one of complete consecration to a perfectly definite ideal. The journals are very quaintly written — full of a certain strange mixture of childlike simplicity and Yankee shrewdness; and the industry of the Shakers was phenomenal.

When Joseph Meacham succeeded Father James there were sixty resident Shakers at Harvard. In 1841 the number had arisen to 115; in 1842 to 116; and in 1843 to 120. That was the high-water mark at the Harvard Shaker Village. After that the number began to decrease. The following item is out of one of the journals: —

"In sixty-two years 422 became Shakers at Harvard.
"Deceased in sixty-two years — 124.
"Returned to the world in sixty-two years — 191."

THE MEN'S SHOP



THE STONE BARN

Built with money earned by the sale of turkey-feather fans. The shingles were a gift from the New Hampshire Shakers and were shipped down the Merrimac River to Lowell and carted to Harvard

There was no laziness allowed at the Shaker Village. The brethren and sisters all had their allotted tasks, and each member of the Society was expected to put heart and soul into the work. In the first place there was the herb industry that kept many occupied. The brethren planted the herb garden, selected the finest seeds from it for sale, prepared dried herbs for the wholesale drug stores throughout the country; and the sisters labelled the packages. Certain of the brethren and sisters were deputed to gather the wild herbs in the surrounding country, as well as varieties of roots for medicinal purposes. In this department the Shaker medicines were made that were so popular and so widely known. Then there was the mill, and here the brethren turned out spools, broom handles, knives, chains, furniture, wooden boxes, etc., all of which were specialties in great demand. Caning chairs occupied many workers and carving names on gravestones occupied others. The old slate quarry on Pin Hill, about a mile away, furnished the slabs.

The tract of land belonging to the Society was now a very large one. Pastures, woodlands, and meadows spread over hundreds of acres. There were large cow barns filled with blooded cattle, a hundred or more besides the young stock. Butter and cheese were made for the market. There were flocks of sheep, and pigs in great numbers, and poultry as well. Twenty yoke of the finest oxen to be found far or near dragged the heavy ploughs that turned up the rich earth, where in summer the corn, oats, rye, and buckwheat swayed in the warm breezes. The vegetable gardens, with long, even rows of

beets and carrots and onions and "garden sarse," spread toward the south and joined the potato fields, from which they counted upon the yield of a thousand bushels. All this cultivation of the soil was done by the Shaker brethren.

Then there was also the industry of dyeing the cloth which was woven by the sisters. Whole cartloads of chestnut bark and butternut and flowering hardhack were gathered for coloring purposes, and sometimes whole days were spent in getting sufficient quantities to fill the demand.

There was the bookbinding department, where hundreds of hymn-books used throughout the entire Society were bound. It was here that the famous "Sacred Roll and Book" was bound by William Leonard, besides school books and much Shaker literature. Every one worked as well as prayed, and there was no such thing as time hanging heavy on the hands here.

And everything prospered. The large and handsome stone barn at the South Family was built entirely with the money earned in making the then popular turkey-feather fans. Palm-leaf fans were also made here and palm-leaf hats. Then there was the flower garden and vegetable seed industry. There was a saying common in that part of the country that "when you bought the Shaker garden seeds you were sure of what you were paying for." Nurseries of fruit trees covered wide acres, and hundreds of them were sold yearly to plant for orchards.

The Shaker Apple Sauce, the Elderberry Wine, the Powdered Pumpkin packed in cans for pies, the Currant

Wine and Rose Water were in constant demand, and had a wide sale, as did also the Shaker Spring Water which was greatly considered.

The work was all done by the Shakers. The boys who were sent there to be educated helped the brethren, and the young girls helped the sisters, for many children were taken into the Society, and some remained for life, while others left and went out into the world. But all helped to add to the general prosperity. And surely such thrift and industry deserved to prosper.

In order to show the variety of occupations of the everyday life among the Shakers, the following extracts from the old journals are here inscribed. This gives a good idea of the way the journals read from day to day, though these extracts do not run consecutively.

"Sabbath, Feb. 7, 1840. Public meeting as usual. The meeting-house was very much crowded with Believers and the world. It is judged there were about 500 of the world attended one meeting to-day."

"November 28, 1840. After evening meeting we had the privilege of following Christ's example in washing one another's feet. 'If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet,' saith Christ."

"Sabbath, Dec. 13, 1840. We have a very good meeting. In meeting about twenty-two hours."

"Sat., Sept. 4, 1841. In the evening many of the ancients attended our meeting such as Noah, Abraham,

Jeremiah, and Isaiah, also some of the ancient sisters, the Virgin Mary and others."

"May 17, 1842. Fair and quite warm and pleasant. Fruit trees full in the blow. The prospect now is that we shall have a fruitful season."

"Sabbath, July 3d, 1842. At 2 o'clock reading meeting. Elder Grove had a communication given at New Lebanon concerning Tea, Swine, Meat, all kinds of strong drink, and Coffee." [1]

"August 25, 1842. Simon started this morning for Lowell and Boston with peaches and plums to sell."

"August 29, 1842. Fair and pleasant. Eat dinner at 11 o'clock. Prepare and get ready to start for the Holy Hill of Zion. Start at half-past twelve P.M. The Ministry, Elders, and biggest part of the brothers and sisters go; between eighty or ninety in all. We have a beautiful meeting here. Much speaking, singing, and dancing and marching. We get back to the first house at half-past six o'clock, having been gone six hours.

"*Note.* We have meetings on the Holy Hill almost every other day."

"March 23d. Cloudy P.M. Rainy. The Ministry start for New Lebanon this morning at about four

[1] The use of these things was prohibited. The Shakers found an herb growing wild at Harvard that tasted like tea, and this they gathered and dried and made a concoction of, which they drank for their breakfast and supper. They named it "Tea Herb."

THE OLD MILL AT THE SHAKER VILLAGE AT HARVARD, MASS., WHERE THE SPOOLS, BROOM HANDLES, SIEVE RIMS, ETC., WERE MADE

o'clock. The family got up at half-past three o'clock to see them start. The Shirley folks go home to-day. Brother Abel Jewett goes to Ashburnham to shear the sheep. Thomas Holden and Alfred Collier are preparing to shingle the west side of the sheep barn. Augustus at getting butternut bark for coloring. Elijah Myrick at the mill at sawing shingles. John Blanchard is at work here in the blacksmith shop at blacksmithing."

"March 30, 1842. Elder Brother and Augustus are at work at the mill turning chair stuff, and sawing small sieve rims. The Farmers are at work fixing fences."

"Sabbath, April 24, 1842. In meeting four hours. We have a blessed good time."

"Sept. 18, 1842. Some of the brethren do work on the Holy Hill. We commenced drying apples in the new dry house to-day. Samuel and boys are getting in corn and pumpkins.

"We do considerable at cutting apples this evening."

"Sept. 20, 1842. Farmers digging stones in the long swamp. Samuel and boys digging potatoes and cutting stakes. Some of the brethren to work on the dry house and some at the rowen."

"Sabh., 25, 1842. Fair and pleasant. Union meeting at 9 o'clock A.M. Standing meeting at 2 o'clock P.M. After we had been in meeting awhile we sung and marched up to the Square House, — went in, sung,

danced, and shouted in about all the rooms, then marched round the house two or three times and back to the meeting-house and finished our meeting. Got into the house at four o'clock. In meeting two hours. Evening Union Meeting."

"Wed. 21st, 1842. Cloudy and cold. Some of the brethren are at work on the Holy Hill to-day. Some at getting in and thrashing out beans. Some of the brethren and sisters gather wintergreen to-day."

"Sept. 30, 1842. Some of the brethren work on the Holy Hill, some at threshing grain, some at carting manure, and some at digging potatoes and getting stalks."

"Oct. 18, 1842. Some of the brethren work on the Holy Hill, some at carting manure, and some at getting in and husking out corn."

"Wed., Oct. 19, 1842. To-day at about one o'clock P.M. we, the brethren and sisters of the Church between the age of sixteen and sixty-five, commence sowing our farm over with the seed of Faith. We sowed the west side of the street this P.M. — were out about three hours. The following are the names of the brethren that were out sowing the seed this afternoon: Elder Grove, Brother Blanchard, Elder Brother Thomas Hammond, Brother John Cloutman, Brother Joseph Hammond, Isaac Myrick, William Leonard, Augustus H. Grosvenor, Daniel Myrick, Samuel Myrick, Thomas B. Holden, Alfred Collier, Elijah Myrick.

"Protection, Blessing, Dependence, also other seeds were sown."

"Nov. 1st, 1842. The Sisters commence sowing the east lots with the seed of Blessing, Protection, and Dependence."

"Nov. 4, 1842. Four men stopped here this evening and want to stay overnight. They are surveying a railroad route from Fitchburg to Boston."

"Sabh., Nov. 6, 1842. Reading meeting at half-past nine o'clock A.M. Meeting at 2 o'clock in the meeting-house. Marched from the meeting-house to the vineyard where we had a very pretty meeting — sung, danced, and shouted."

" Nov. 12. We continue to apply vigorously to the work on the Holy Hill. The sisters sow the seeds of Protection, etc., on the Bigelow pasture and plain."

"Nov. 14, 1842. Cloudy and windy, wind N.E. The brethren of the Ministry and Elders, also the brethren of the Church and families have a general turn out to work on the Holy Hill to-day — thirty-eight in all. The sisters of the Ministry, Elders, Trustees, and Family Deacons, also Olive Hatch and Minerva Hill, bring our dinner out to us. The sisters waited upon the brethren while eating. After dinner we assembled round the fountain and sang an anthem called 'Gospel Baptism' — sung and danced some, and received the love and

blessing of our Holy Saviour. The sisters then returned to the house."

"Nov. 28, 1842. Samuel Myrick commenced keeping school to-day — 31 scholars."

"Sabbath, Dec. 17, 1842. The Ministry in meeting this evening. They introduce a new manner of labor. It is for each one to sing his or her song and march promiscuously."

"Sabbath, December 25, 1842, Christmas. Cloudy and cold. Reading meeting at 8½ o'clock A.M. and at 1½ o'clock in the P.M. to hear the *Holy Laws*. After the reading we have a standing meeting; were visited by *Christ* and *Mother* and many more good spirits: received a bountiful store of their love and blessing, also some spiritual presents from them. Much inspired speaking in meeting. After meeting the Ministry, Elders, brethren and sisters and children went to the kitchen and set for our supper brown bread and water in remembrance of the sufferings of our Holy Saviour and Blessed Mother Ann. There we received again their love and blessing. We sang and marched one song round the table, then retired to our rooms for the night."

"Dec. 28, 1842. Fair. We butcher swine to-day. Augustus got one of his fingers badly cut while butchering."

"Dec. 31st, 1842. We kill chickens for the market this A.M. Evening meeting as usual. Some of the Indian

ELDRESS OLIVE HATCH

Died 1908, aged 100 years

spirits make themselves known and speak in meeting this evening."

"January 9, 1843. Some of the brethren are a-chopping timber and wood at the South Pasture woods. They worked there two or three days last week. Elijah Myrick works at the saw mill at sawing boards. Augustus at the blacksmith's to get iron works done for a shingle machine and broom press."

" January 13, 1843. Cloudy and some rainy. Thomas Holden and Elijah Myrick work at the mill last night. Elisha Myrick cut his thumb with a piece of glass very bad."

"Jan. 14, 1843. The Angel of Truth and the Angel of Repentance frequently speak in meeting — the Angel of Peace and Angel of Prophecy and Angel of Victory as well."

"Jan. 17, 1843. Some of the brethren are sledding wood, some at the mill, and some at chopping wood in the woods."

"Jan. 19, 1843. Evening reading meeting. Hear communications from the Holy Holy Mother,[1] Christ and Mother Ann, also a Roll from Amos, a Jew that was on earth in Christ's day."

"Jan. 21st, 1843. This evening Jacob of old and his twelve sons attended our meeting. Likewise many other good spirits."

[1] Wisdom is always spoken of as Holy Holy Mother.

"Sabbath, Jan. 22d, 1843. Our meetings as usual throughout the day. In singing meeting we hear some inspired communications read. One was from two Holy Angels — the Angels that drove righteous *Lot* out of Sodon at the time of its overthrow."

"Jan. 25, 1843. Thomas B. Holden broke one of his fingers to-day while drawing stones or laying wall."

"Jan. 26, 1843. Dana and Elisha finished seating chairs for the present. They have seated in all this winter seventy-three chairs."

"Jan. 28, 1843. An account of chairs made in this family in the year 1841 and 1842, Elder Brother Thomas Hammond foreman in making chairs. Amount, including all sizes, 339. There was put at the office 83 common, 3 rocking chairs with arms, and 6 small ones — 92 in all."

"*Note.* In Feb., 1843, there were 20 boys. William Leonard and Samuel Myrick had charge of them. Thomas Holden and Alfred Collier had charge of the farm. Daniel Myrick had charge of the stock and family horses, Elijah Myrick of the swine, Jonathan Chandler of the seed garden, Augustus Grosvenor of the mill, Dana White and Elisha Myrick the Herb Garden."

"Sabbath, Feb. 5, 1843. At half-past nine o'clock A.M. reading meeting. Elder Grove commenced reading a book that was given to our Ministry by the Prophet

Isaiah, — was written by inspiration since they came home — while they were at Holy Mount last summer."

"*Note.* The brethren of the Society worked on the Holy Hill 600 hours in the fall of 1842 — so I have been informed this day by Brother John Cloutman who kept the account."

"Feb. 12, 1843. Sister Sally's [1] brothers are on their way to market with each of them cheese for sale — with two horses each."

"Feb. 17, 1843. Clear. Continues very cold. Elijah Myrick finished the shingle machine to-day. Augustus went to the blacksmith's to get some work done. John Williams does some at planing posts for the Holy Hill. Brother Jonathan Chandler is cutting seed bags for this year."

"Feb. 20, 1843. Elder Brother informed us at the table at supper time that there would be a sitting meeting this evening at eight o'clock for all the brethren and sisters between the age of twenty and fifty years. Accordingly at the time we assembled in the meeting-room: the Ministry, except Eldress Betty, being present. Elder Grove read to us communications from the Lord Jehovah, the Holy Saviour, and a Holy Angel."

"Feb. 22d, 1843. Brother Joseph Mayo and Dana White work at sizing broom brush. Augustus works at the mill. Thomas Holden and Alfred Collier sled wood

[1] Sister Sally Loomis.

and logs from the South pasture lot. Daniel Myrick came home with a load of plaster from Cambridgeport. Samuel Myrick and boys are chopping and sawing wood in the dooryard, and so is John Williams. Brother John Chandler and Isaac Myrick are at work at the Square House dooryard. John Cloutman, Lucy Ann Hammond, and Fidelia Grosvenor went to the Second Family this P.M. and stopped a little while. Brother John Orment is at work planing sieve rims."

"*Note.* Augustus Grosvenor sawed the posts at the mill for the Holy Hill on 2d Feb., 1843."

"Feb. 24, 1843. Hazy and cold. Augustus at the mill turning spools. Elijah Myrick at making a sink for the wash-house. Alfred Collier stays with Brother Nathan Kendall, who is sick at the Square House. John Williams, Elisha Myrick, Samuel Myrick, and boys are cutting wood in the dooryard. Brother Abel Jewett and Daniel Myrick came home from Cambridge with plaster. Laban Babbitt came home from Rhode Island, brought home to the South Family with him two women, and boy and girl, to see the Believers. He some expects they will be Shakers."

"Feb. 28, 1843. Elder Brother and John Cloutman went to Shirley after the stone for the Holy Ground."

"Sabbath, March 5, 1843. Fair and cold. We have a reading meeting at 9½ o'clock A.M. to hear a book read giving an account of finding the fountain on the Holy Hill of Zion."

ALL THAT REMAINS OF THE PLACE OF WORSHIP ON THE HOLY HILL OF ZION
AT HARVARD SHAKER VILLAGE

"March 24, 1843. Augustus at the mill fixing broom handles."

"Monday, March 27, 1843. Sister Molly Lyon departed this life at the Square House at half-past 2 P.M. aged 92 years last January."

"Tuesday, March 28, 1843. At three o'clock we attend the funeral of Sister Molly Lyon. Thomas Holden made the coffin and Elijah Myrick and Dana White dug the grave. So one more of Mother's faithful first-born children has gone to receive the just reward of 'Well done, good and faithful servants.'"

"April 19, 1843. We move the bee house from the Square House to the west side of the road, south of the rose yard."

"April 22d. We moved two swarms of bees from the Second Family yesterday here to the Church."

"April 24, 1843. Augustus went to Harvard town to sell fruit trees."

"April 25. Augustus Grosvenor went to Littleton to sell peach trees."

"April 26, 1843. Augustus Grosvenor went to Lexington with fruit trees."

"April 28, 1843. We take up some over five hundred fruit trees to sell."

"Sat., 29 April, 1843. Cloudy in the P.M. We have a meeting in the meeting-house for the Society commencing at 8 o'clock A.M. continued till 12 o'clock, begun again at 1 o'clock and lasted until 4 P.M. The Lebanon brethren, Brothers Philemon Stewart and Giles Avery read from a Roll given by the *Lord Jevohah*."

"May 5, 1843. Some of the brethren set out between three and four thousand small apple and pear trees."

"May 9, 1843. Brethren Abel Jewett, Seth Blanchard, and Isaac Myrick start for Ashburnham with the cattle and sheep."

"May 12, 1843. Plum trees begin to blow out some."

"June 9, 1843. Augustus works at the mill in the A.M. at finishing some apple knives, and at coloring cloth in the P.M. Brother Joseph Mayo helped the sisters split palm-leaf."

"June 24, 1843. The brethren that have been at work on the Holy Hill finished preparing the ground and sowed it down to oats and grass seed."

"July 4, 1843. Brother Joseph Hammond went from here to the North Family at Shirley to be an Elder of that family."

"July 12, 1843. There are thirty-one children male and female here."

"August 5, 1843. It is a general time of health and prosperity in the different Societies."

"August 16, 1843. Nine of the sisters go a-whortleberrying. Brother John Orsment carries them in the morning and goes after them at night with the Ministry's horses. They got about three bushels of berries."

"August 23d, 1843. John Cloutman and some of the boys are budding apple trees. Roxalana Grosvenor and Mary Babbitt go to Shirley to-day and home again. Seth Blanchard went to Ashburnham to-day. We picked some of the plums for market. Joseph Mayo goes to the mill and carried home Ellis Harlow."

"August 29, 1843. Seth Blanchard is and has been to work for a few days past smoothing off the stone that is to be placed at the head of the fountain on the Holy Hill of Zion."

"August 29, 1843. This evening, at twenty-seven minutes past seven o'clock, Sister Patience Crouch departed this life, at seventy-seven years. She has been sick so as to need watchers about eight weeks. Disease, Consumption."

"August 30, 1843. Brother John Chandler is a-cutting his onion seeds. William Leonard and some of the sisters pick tea herb in the woods beyond Sandy Pond."

"August 31st, 1843. We attend the funeral of Sister Patience Crouch at 9 A.M. We carried the corpse to the

grave by hand, had eight bearers. The brethren and sisters stopped at the grave till the corpse was covered, or the grave filled, then sing some songs. The deceased spoke to us through an inspired instrument. We then returned home.

"There have been 9 clear days, 7 rainy, 6 cloudy, 4 changeable, and 4 hazy. About half the month has been very warm and sultry."

"Sept. 2d, 1843. Seth Blanchard carried a lot of wool to Lancaster to get carded."

"Sept. 4, 1853. Brother Abel Jewett went to Rufus Parls's this morning and bought a cow and drove her home. Elder Joseph Myrick, of the South Family, is here this evening; says he expects to begin to letter a lot of gravestones to-morrow that are going to be placed in our graveyard.

"The sisters begin this P.M. to cut and dry apples."

"Sept. 5, 1843. Two women from Boston came here by the way of Harvard stage. One, a mother to the other, says she wants her daughter to stay with us; she is some deranged, or shattered, as the saying is. I think it is probable that they both will leave here to-morrow, as it is very seldom that we take in crazy people to live with us."

"Sept. 7, 1843. Ebenezer Grosvenor and Isaac Myrick go a-herbing."

"Sept. 9, 1843. A load of the *world* from Boston here awhile to-day and took dinner."

A GROUP OF YOUNG BELIEVERS

"Sept. 11, 1843. Simon carried the marble stone that is to be placed on the Holy Hill to the South Family for Elder Joseph Myrick to letter."

"Sept. 12, 1843. Elder Joseph Myrick has commenced lettering the *marble stone* that is to be placed at the head of the fountain on the Holy Hill of Zion."

"Sept. 14, 1843. Ebenezer Grosvenor and Brother John Orsment, Sr., went after elderberries."

"Sept. 16, 1843. Clear and very warm for the season. Ebenezer and a boy plough in the nursery with two yoke of oxen. Some of the brethren at mowing rowen, some at laying wall at the calf pasture. Samuel and boys at pulling beans at the Red Field. Elder Brother and Joseph Mayo went a-herbing."

"Thurs., Sept. 21st, 1843. Hazy, clear. Seth Blanchard, Lucy Clark, and Mary Babbitt went to Lowell. Elder Sister and Sister Sally Loomis went to Shirley to-day. Samuel Myrick and John Orsment thrash beans. William Leonard at making mortar for the mason work at the shed. We shoe our oxen. Augustus at hooping old barrels. Elijah Myrick at making a pump for the hog-house. Some are getting the rowen. Elder Brother and Brother John finished a lot of box sieves. Simon Atherton went to town upon business, to see about grapes, etc. Thomas at making window sashes for the shed. John Cloutman and some of the boys are a-budding peach trees. Blanchard, the blacksmith, worked here to-day."

"Sept. 23d, 1843. Hazy. Some of the brethren at work getting in rowen. Some at thrashing beans. Augustus went to John Blanchard's after cider for vinegar. Brother Abel Jewett to Still River after peach scions. Joseph Mayo to Lancaster after wool. Elijah Myrick puts a pump into the hog-house — one he has been a-making. Two men by the name of Bancroft here to-day to buy fruit trees."

"Oct. 21st, 1843. Samuel and boys finish digging potatoes. We have eight hundred bushels this year."

"Oct. 26, 1843. Thomas Hammond and Elijah Myrick finish building the Holy Hill fence. Brother John Cloutman and company arrive home with the trees and some fat cattle soon after dark."

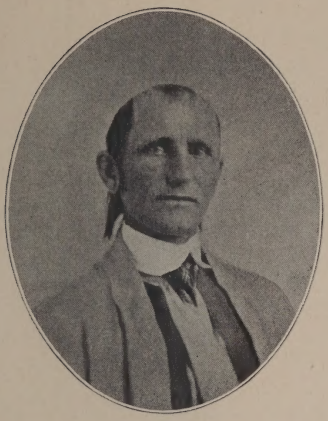
"Oct. 31st, 1843. Thomas and Elijah commence painting the Holy Hill fence."

"Nov. 6, 1843. Elder Joseph finishes hanging the gates to the Holy Hill fence."

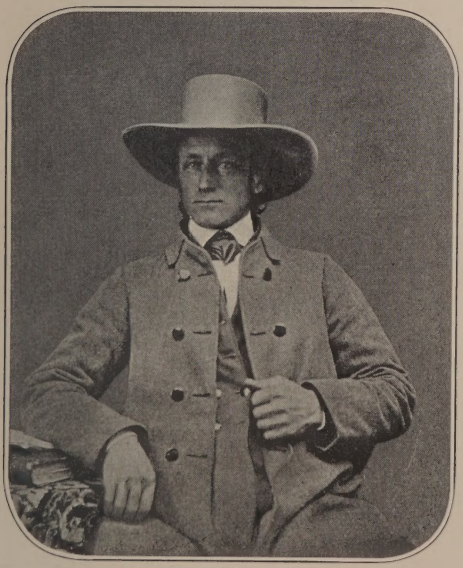
"Thurs., Nov. 16, 1843. William Leonard came home with a lot of pear stocks last night — brought home one thousand trees.[1] Lane the transcendentalist came here. Says he wants we should take his boy."

"Nov. 23d, 1843. The *Lord's Stone* is erected on the Holy Hill. The stone was taken from the South House

[1] Lane was one of the community at Fruitlands and associated with Bronson Alcott.



ELDER JOHN ORSMENT, JR.



ELDER ELIJAH MYRICK IN HIS YOUTH

about ten of the clock and carried up on the Holy Hill and erected so as to stand correct at noon. The brethren of the Ministry and Elders' order assisted and eleven other brethren. Thomas Hammond and Elijah Myrick are putting up the fountain fence.

"Laban S. Babbitt and Roxa Hill and Lucy Knowles here. They started to go home, got into their wagon and on turning round they upset and broke Laban's right arm close to the shoulder, and Roxa's left arm close to the wrist, besides injuring her otherwise, and hurt Lucy considerable, but broke none of her bones. Dr. Holman came to put things right as far as was in his power; he also came last Saturday evening to Mary Chandler who got her knees badly hurt by a horse on coming home from the South House with Brother Godfrey."

"Nov. 30, 1843. Eldress Betty at the office. Laban S. Babbitt's horse started to run with him up by the Square House — not being able to run his horse with his lame arm he ran furiously against some sticks set on the ground to protect some apple trees, broke both shafts, throwed the driver, and cleared himself from the wagon; he was stopped and caught by Brother John Cloutman who, in leading him back, slipped on the ice, fell, and lamed his ankle badly. Laban came off with trifling injury.

"We weigh our cheese. Have made twenty-nine hundred pounds."

"Dec. 14, 1843. The Sacred Roll and Book bound by the Shakers and sent out to the Nations."

"Dec. 23d, 1843. We attend to the gift of washing each other's feet after meeting."

"Jan. 6, 1844. Sledding is a-going on as usual. Elijah Myrick made a machine to move Abigail Blanchard with. She is helpless and has to be lifted off and on to her bed often. Elder Joseph Myrick is at work at our mill at sawing sieve rims."

"Jan. 13, 1844. Some rainy in the morning, and some splashy. Elijah Myrick makes a lot of broom handles."

"Sabbath, Jan. 28, 1844. Meeting as usual. Lucy Myrick attended in the P.M. — danced a song in lively manner and expect it will be the last that she will ever dance in this world."

"Feb. 2d, 1844. Evening at 8 o'clock we have a standing meeting to commemorate the anniversary day that the Holy Roll and Book was given to be written by mortal hand for the inhabitants of Earth."

"March 2d, 1844. Cloudy and warm — thaws considerable. The arrival of the mail this P.M. brings intelligence of an awful accident that has happened at Washington this week, occasioned by the bursting of a gun on board the steamship Princeton, which killed the Secretaries of State and of the Navy of the United States, also three other men and wounded a number more."

"March 8, 1844. Cloudy and warm. Augustus Grosvenor finished sledding mud — has sledded one hundred

ELDRESS ELIZA BABBITT

Niece of Tabitha Babbitt

Died 1865—aged 84 years

loads of mud and collected two hundred bushels of ashes to a compost for the nursery."

"March 21st, 1844. Abiel Crosby is here a-learning of Samuel Myrick to braid palm-leaf hats."

"May 4, 1844. Elder Brother made a frame to put a writing in that is to be placed at the entrance of the Holy Ground. Dana White and Elisha Myrick have planed a lot of seats for the Holy Ground this week."

"May 4, 1844. William Leonard went out in pursuit of fruit trees."

"May 5, 1844. We have our meeting upon the Holy Hill to-day."

"May 17, 1844. Brother Abel Jewett and Augustus Grosvenor went with Elder Joseph Myrick to see Charles Lane's farm." [1]

"Sabbath, May 19, 1844. Clear and quite windy and cold.

"Lucy Myrick departed this life this P.M. at ten minutes before four o'clock, aged twenty-seven years. Disease, consumption. She has been sick about six months — was one of the Trustee Sisters. Thomas Hammond made her coffin and Dana White and John Williams dug her grave."

"May 25, 1844. Ebenezer Grosvenor fixed the bee-house."

[1] This was "Fruitlands."

"June 1st, 1844. An odd kind of a queer dick came here, took supper and stayed till the next afternoon and labored hard to convert us, then returned where I know not, neither do I care."

"June 3d, 1844. We begin to get the butternut bark for coloring cloth."

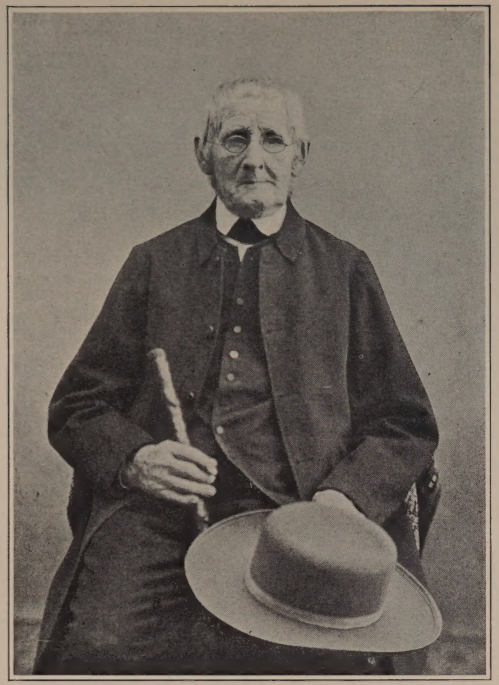
"June 13, 1844. Augustus went to Shirley last evening and home again this morning — brought Elder Brother Abram. He is a-going to instruct us some about coloring cloth. Eldress Nancy Orsment, of the South Family, is at work here weaving tape. Joseph Mayo and John Orsment went a-herbing."

"June 17, 1844. We hear that the *cars* run from Boston to Concord to-day on the Boston & Fitchburg Railroad for the first time since it was finished as far as there."

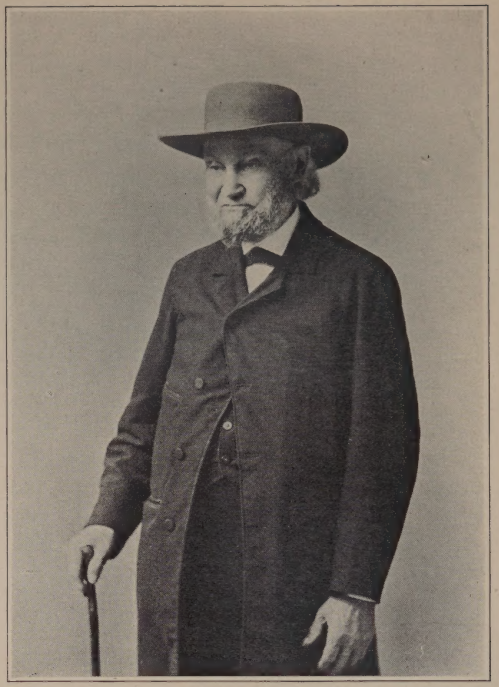
"July 25, 1844. A number of the brethren went a-fishing to-day. Abigail Blanchard at the Square House departed this life at half-past one o'clock P.M. aged eighty-nine years and four months. Disease, old-age palsy."

"August 7, 1844. Brother John Cloutman finished budding the pear and cherry trees — about fourteen hundred in all of both kinds. William Leonard commenced the binding of a lot of hymn-books."

"August 14, 1844. William Leonard, Dana White, and a number of the sisters gather a lot of the tea herb.



ELDER EZRA NEWTON
Died 1896, aged 101 years



ELDER SIMON T. ATHERTON
Died 1888, aged 85 years

Louisa Blanchard and the girls go a-whortle-berrying on Oak Hill."

"Sept. 18, 1844. Elder Brother finished a lot of twenty-seven dozen sieves that were ordered."

"Sept. 20, 1844. Simon Atherton goes with some sisters to Acton barberrying."

"Sept. 4, 1844. Brother Joseph went to Groton and gathered a load of thoroughwort."

"Sept. 19, 1844. Simon goes with some sisters to Acton barberrying."

"Oct. 9, 1844. Samuel and the boys finish digging the potatoes, eight hundred and sixty bushels in all."

"Nov. 1st, 1844. We house one hundred and seventy-five bushels of corn."

"Nov. 10, 1844. In the P.M. we march out to the spot where Father James was tied and whipped. The South Family join us when we arrive there and partake in the dutiful and commendable act of commemorating the sufferings endured by our Gospel ancestry."

"Dec. 10, 1844. Alvin Crocker, president of the Fitchburg Railroad Corporation, informs us that the Company intend to give all the Believers in Harvard a free pass over the road when it is finished to Fitchburg."

"Dec. 30, 1844. The passenger cars run up to Shirley Village to-day for the first time. A screaming from the engine whistle could be heard almost every hour from seven in the morning till seven at night.

"*Note.* This was the first passenger train that went up there on the Fitchburg Railroad."

"Monday, January 12, 1845. We receive intelligence that there is company a-coming here to dine to-morrow."

"January 13, 1845. Company had turkey, plum pudding, beef steak, etc., for dinner."

"Jan. 14, 1845. Elisha Myrick is seating chairs."

"Jan. 15, 1845. William Leonard finishes binding the Sacred Roll and has bound 1½ dozen blankbooks for hymns and some for other uses, and is now repairing old books and doing other small jobs at binding."

"Jan. 16, 1845. A rain-storm commenced early this morning. The greater part of the brethren are in the shops at work on brooms, broom staffs, window sashes, chairs, and books."

"Feb. 8, 1845. Elder Joseph Myrick came here to-day to stay awhile and recruit his health."

"March 7, 1845. Elisha has finished printing between seventy and eighty thousand labels for herbs."

"March 11, 1845. Brother Nathan Kendall deceased this evening at half-past seven o'clock, aged almost ninety years."

"March 12, 1845. Thomas made the coffin and Alfred worked in the saw mill. Elder Brother's new wheels for the two-horse pleasure wagon are brought from the wheelwright. Elder Joseph Myrick goes to Shirley. He has been here most five weeks a-doctoring and has got quite smart."

"March 22d, 1845. Elijah split palm leaves for fans."

"March 24, 1845. Thomas, Alfred, Elijah, and Elisha worked at the mill sawing slabs. They continued operations till nearly midnight."[1]

The account of the raising of the cart shed

"April 15, 1845. Weather favorable. In the morning the brethren repair to the frame, as it is the day assigned for raising. Some help came from the families in season for the earliest operations. Eight brethren arrived from Shirley very soon and the job went on prosperously. By eleven of the clock the body of the frame was up. We took dinner at half-past eleven and finished raising at 3 P.M. Some of the families and the Shirley brethren stayed to supper. So here is recorded when the form of this building was first exhibited, and what will be its fate, whether burn down, blow down, be pulled down, or rot down, time only will prove."

"April 21st, 1845. The first ploughing done on the farm this season. Thomas worked at the mill and Elijah at the blacksmith shop, Lafayette and Elisha plough

[1] This often happened.

some in the medical garden. William Leonard and help are setting out tree seedlings."

Produce raised in the Church Family at Shaker Village

1838

"Raised in 1838 — 34 bushels of corn, 830 do potatoes, 60 do of wheat, 75 do of oats, 11 do of beans, 3100 lbs. pork, 3850 lbs. beef, 2000 lbs. of cheese, 719 lbs. butter, 145 bushels of buckwheat, 45 do of Indian wheat."

1839

"135 bushels corn, 125 do rye, 40 do oats, 20 do wheat, 179 do buckwheat, 51 do Indian wheat, 13 do white beans, 950 do potatoes, 800 do rutabaga, 180 do turnips, 20 loads of pumpkins, 7000 lbs. sweet squash, 1500 lbs. cheese, 686 lbs. of butter, 4355 lbs. of pork.

"The South Family and North Family accounts not included."

1843

"Dec. 30, 1843. An account of the produce, beef, pork, butter, and cheese raised this year in the Church — 115 bushels corn, 130 bushels of rye, 150 do oats, 800 do potatoes, 100 do turnips, 52 do wheat, 2800 lbs. cheese, 969 lbs. butter, 3850 lbs. beef, 3900 lbs. pork, 4 loads of pumpkins, 23 bushels of beans."

XXVI

THE HERB DEPARTMENT

THE following account of the building of the Herb House is taken from the journals of the brethren who worked in that department. Up to this time a small building had been used by them for preparing the herbs, but now the demand for them was so great that a larger building was necessary: —

Herb Department

"This year we cut the timber, saw it cut at the mill, and frame the Herb House ourselves (the foundation being laid in 1848), get the building so far completed as to be able to occupy the part designed for the herb business November 15, just one year from the day we commenced cutting timber for the frame. Hire help to cover it and lay two floors and one half and finish five rooms, at a cost of about $1800. Money out.

"The business this year is carried on by Elisha Myrick, aged 25, and George B. Whitney, aged 22, with the assistance of Isaac Myrick to gather herbs out from home and two sisters to pick over herbs, viz., Mary Robbins and Charlotte Priest. We do our pressing and keep our stock of pressed herbs at the Ministry's barn and pick our herbs and do other work at the yellow house. We distilled 165 gallons of peach water and made 134 pounds of ointment, 49 gallons of buckthorn syrup

and pressed between February 14, 1849, and February 14, 1850, 10,152 pounds of herbs, roots, etc.

"The sales for 1849 including all the herbs, and delivered to agents amount to $4042.31 net.

"We raise, gather, and prepare this year 5788 pounds of herbs, barks, roots, etc., which is five hundred pounds more than was ever culled before.

"The foregoing statistics would be a good introduction, I thought, for the first journal I ever kept after having worked in the Herb Department 14½ successive years.

"ELISHA MYRICK,
"Jan., 1850."

"Jan. 2d. Elisha works at work bench in the Herb House, packing herbs to go to Boston."

"Jan. 9, 1850. Elisha works all night packing and making out bills."

"Jan. 14, 1850. Elisha up at 3 o'clock in the morning writing and putting up his herbs."

"Jan. 17, 1850. Elisha is up at 4 o'clock putting up herbs to go to Boston. Three sisters pick over dry sage in the evening."

"Feb. 10, 1850. Elisha and Mary and Charlotte put 33 pounds of herbs in ounces for Reed & Casler."

"Feb. 14, 1850. After meeting in the evening we got some help and put up 18 dozen large cans of thyme till 12 o'clock."

THE SCHOOLHOUSE

THE HERB HOUSE

"August 2d. Gather some hardhack."

"August 6. Commence packing poppy leaves."

"August 21, 1850. Seven sisters and four brethren go out beyond the depot to pick wintergreen."

"August 22d. Cut the pennyroyal and the thyme."

"August 31, 1850. Cut the savory."

"Sept. 2d, 1850. Put up three kettles of peach leaves. Cut the lavender."

"Sept. 6, 1850. Go after goldenrod. Cut some savory."

"Sept. 10. Cut the hyssop and sweet balm."

"Sept. 11. A company of brethren and sisters go to Chelmsford to pick wintergreen."

"Dec., 1851.

"Sold in Worcester and Providence	$514.09
" to sundry customers.....	2565.61
Delivered to agents.....	2573.74
	$5653.44"

"Dec., 1852. Amount of herbs sold and delivered to agents the past year, $8300 net."

From the Herb Book

1850

"Sept. 15, 1850. Send fifteen barrels of summer savory to grind, and two barrels of thyme. Cut the thorn apple."

"Sept. 23, 1850. Commence cutting foxglove."

"Sept. 25, 1850. Get a large load of bittersweet from Acton. Cut the remainder of the foxglove. A very large crop."

"Sept. 27, 1850. Make Savin ointment at the washhouse. Put up a barrel of thyme in cans."

"Sept. 30, 1850. Pick the buckthorn berries. Prepare the juice and put up sixteen ounce cans to go to New Bedford."

"Oct. 1, 1850. Make the buckthorn syrup and put up two hundred cans of herbs."

"Oct. 3, 1850. Go to Leominster in pursuit of herbs."

"Oct. 5, 1850. Put up 730 ounces of peach water and rose water to go to New York.

"A great number of herbs, etc., sent to Underwood."

"Oct. 21, 1850. Go after chestnuts, put up two gross one half cans of sage for Underwood and prepare a lot of herb, etc."

"Nov. 2d, 1850. Press yellow dock root all day — 311 pounds prepared and 48 more in the press, making 359 in all."

"Nov. 5, 1850. Put up three barrels of dock root to go to Rhode Island."

"Nov. 19, 1850. Weigh off a lot of herbs bought by a man by the name Vormund Hoyt, of Canada."

10,767 pounds pressed in 1850

"Sold herbs amounting to..... $3768.18
Delivered to agents..... 2305.06

Total amount of sales in 1850 $6073.24 net."

"Feb. 16, 1850. Elisha takes up the horseradish root in the dry-house and carries it to the grist mill and gets it ground, also three barrels of dandelion root."

"Feb. 26, 1850. We work till eleven o'clock in the evening, putting up cans of horseradish to go to California."

"March 25, 1850. Up at two o'clock putting up orders to go to Boston."

"May 30. Cut 500 pounds sarsaparilla root and 200 pounds sage."

"July 8, 1850. Cut horehound and catnip and motherwort."

"July 18. Cut the canary seed."

"June 13, 1850. Hoe the burdock and henbane for the first time in the west garden; slough the carrot field for dandelions.

"April 8, 1851. The sisters help cut up some herbs to go to New London."

"April 30, 1851. Set out wormwood, marshmallow, and thyme roots."

"May 2d, 1851. Transplant hyssop and feverfew to the west garden. Transplant horehound and sage."

"Sept. 13, 1851. Commence making ketchup in the new furnaces. Cut the marshmallow and sweet marjoram and rue seed. Isaac got a load of life everlasting."

"Oct. 24, 1851. Put up pumpkin in cans."

"Nov. 7. Put up cans of thyme."

"Nov. 10, 1851. Fill 1000 cans of summer savory."

"Nov. 28, 1851. Put up 200 cans of flour of pumpkin. Pack a lot of orders to go to New York."

"Christmas Day. After the solemnities of the day are past I paper a lot of herbs."

"Dec. 31, 1851. This day the year 1851 closes forever. We have had some hot weather, some cold, some wet, some dry — we have had some joys, some sorrows, some prosperity, and some adversity."

SHAKER SISTERS LABELLING HERBS

"Feb. 16, 1852. Put up ten pounds fine lilly root and one hundred pounds ground sage in pound papers. Pack $200 worth of pressed herbs to go to Wilson, Fairbanks & Co., for the California order. Send some herbs to the agents."

"Feb. 18, 1852. Pack four large boxes of prepared herbs to fit out Weeks & Potter, Boston, who have taken the agency."

"In one week 1596 pounds of herbs are pressed. In the year 1852 brought in $8300.14."

"Feb. 13, 1852. Pack $7500 worth of cans of ground herbs for Underwood."

"Feb. 14, 1852. Pack $7500 worth of cans for Davis, Boston."

"Feb. 16, 1852. Pack $200 worth of prepared herbs to go to Wilson, Fairbanks & Co. for the California order. Send some herbs to the agents."

"Feb. 23, 1853. Finish the hops and commence pressing for an order to go to London, England."

"Feb. 24, 1853. Press 250 pounds and pack 79 different varieties of two pounds each to go to London."

"August 11. Take up the poppy capsules and work the dandelion root and cut some thorn apple leaves for ointment."

"Aug. 16. We go with a number of the sisters to the intervale to collect a load of hardhack. Gather boneset in the swamp. Isaac gets a load of queen-of-the-meadows."

"Sept. 20, 1853. Make buckthorn syrup."

Roots and herbs used

Thoroughwort
Sage
Catnip
Powdered Snakeshead
Lobelia
Horseradish
Hops
Milkweed
Motherwort
Hardhack leaves
Thyme
Powdered Pumpkin
Mullen
Savory
Marjoram
Chopped Wormwood
Foxglove
Parsley
Rue
Poppy leaves
Hyssop
Dandelion
Boneset
Thorn Apple, leaves and roots
Dock
Chopped Tansy
Peppermint
Skullcap
Spearmint
Wintergreen
Pennyroyal
Fleabane
Cicuta
Coltsfoot
Digitalis
Feverfew
Marshmallow
Yellow Lily root
Burdock root
Sarsaparilla root
Lavender
Sumac berries
Water Pepper
Roman Wormwood
Lemon Balm
Mint
Sweet Bugle
Oak of Jerusalem
Elderberries
Chickory

XXVII

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Our space is too limited to include any more of the journals; the foregoing extracts have been chosen with a view to giving a correct and general impression of life at the Shaker Village. One phase of it, however, has not been sufficiently emphasized — the coming and going which was incessant. It was the habit of the Ministry of each Society to visit all the others once during the year, and as a result the journals are full of entries such as this: "A load of visitors arrive from Hancock"; or, "Our Ministry have started for Canterbury"; and so on through the list.

"The world," as the Shakers called those outside of the Society, also came in great numbers; some from curiosity, some from genuine interest, and some with a view of joining them. Certainly there was no monotony in the life, and every hour of the day was filled with occupation of some kind. "The world" was not always conversant of the habits of the Shakers, and as these last were ever tenacious of adhering strictly to all that they professed, and required others to conform, while with them, to the general order of the place, they had some very quaint and tactful ways of communicating their desire on this point.

The following account of a visit to the Shakers is a demonstration of this: —

"On being seated at table, a printed sheet was handed to the guest, which at first might be mistaken for a bill of fare, but upon inspection proved to be an injunction to take upon the plate only what was to be eaten. This little sheet, entitled 'Table Monitor,' was written by a Shaker sister, Hannah Bronson, a native of Vermont, who entered the Community about the year 1800: —

"*Table Monitor*

"'Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost.' — CHRIST.

"'Here, then, is the pattern which Jesus has set,
And his good example we cannot forget.
With thanks for his blessing, his word we'll obey,
But on this occasion we've something to say.

"'We wish to speak plainly and use no deceit;
We like to see fragments left wholesome and neat;
To customs and fashions we make no pretense,
Yet think we can tell what belongs to good sense.

"'What we deem goodly order we're willing to state,
Eat hearty and decent, and clean out our plate;
Be thankful to heaven for what we receive,
And not make a mixture or compound to leave.

"'We find of those bounties which heaven does give,
That some live to eat, and that some eat to live;
That some think of nothing but pleasing the taste,
And care very little how much they do waste.

"'Though Heaven has blessed us with plenty of food,
Bread, butter, and honey, and all that is good;
We loathe to see mixtures where gentlefolk dine,
Which scarcely look fit for the poultry or swine.

"'We often find left on the same China dish
Meat, apple sauce, pickle, brown bread, and minced fish;
Another replenished with butter and cheese,
With pie, cake, and toast, perhaps added to these.

"'Now if any virtue in this can be shown,
By peasant, by lawyer, or king on the throne,
We freely will forfeit whatever we've said,
And call it a virtue to waste meat and bread.

"'Let none be offended at what we here say,
We candidly ask you, is that the best way?
If not, lay such customs and fashions aside,
And this Monitor take, henceforth, for your guide.'

"Many of the present generation have doubtless heard the expression, 'Shaker your plate,' who will now understand from whence its origin." [1]

"A Manual of Good Manners" was printed at New Lebanon in 1844 and we cannot resist inserting a few quotations from it: —

"It has often been remarked that it may be known whether a person is well bred or not, by seeing him eat one meal of victuals; therefore it is highly necessary for all persons, strictly to observe the rules of decency and good behavior while sitting at the table.

"Always sit erect at the table.

"The body should incline a little forward when eating, to avoid dropping victuals on your clothes. Nothing looks more clownish at the table than to see a person grasp and handle the victuals that he does not eat himself.

"Never gaze at a person when he is eating, for it looks as though you coveted his victuals. It shows low breeding and selfishness to pick out the best of the victuals,

[1] *The Shakers*, by Charles Edson Robinson. (East Canterbury, 1893.)

or to turn over a piece of meat to look at both sides of it before you take it to eat.

"Never be squinting, and scowling, and examining the victuals to see if you can discover a coal, a speck, or a hair; and if you do find one, take it out decently, and not make a great ado about it. For your honor's sake never make a mountain of a mole-hill.

"Never pocket victuals at the table, it denotes a thievish disposition.

"Throw nothing under the table.

"Always pick your bones clean.

"*Behavior toward equals and general behavior*

"Always be willing to take your share of disagreeable chores.

"Never play mean, dirty tricks upon any one; it shows meanness of heart and an ugly disposition.

"Never give a joke, unless you can bear one as keen.

"Jests and jokes are edge tools, and very dangerous to use, as they wound the tender feelings of our friends.

"Never hang round in company where you are not wanted.

"Never stand on the sides of your feet; it runs down your shoes.

"Picking pockets, knocking off hats, throwing snowballs, clubs, stones, or sticks in the street or at each other, is extremely rude and vulgar.

"Biting fruit which you do not intend to eat is improper.

"The wicked borrow and never return; but Christians

and well-bred people make it a rule to return whatever they borrow, as soon as convenient.

"Be careful not to slam doors hard, nor walk heavy up and down stairs; it shows a noisy sense.

"Never be found a-gazing round and looking over your shoulder, when you are going through a city or village, or by a house; if necessary to look, then stop and view handsomely; or wait until you get fairly by, and then turn round and make a business of looking.

"Never try to pester any person on account of his form, features, or complexion; for it is very mean." [1]

[1] Crude but excellent advice!

XXVIII

THE PHILOSOPHERS AT FRUITLANDS AND THE SHAKERS

SOMETIMES in old libraries there will be found examples of the Shaker literature, for among the Elders, especially at the period of which we are writing, there were men of excellent mental ability and no small literary attainments. There is a prevalent impression among those who know little of its history that the Society was made up entirely of ignorant people. Nothing could be further from the truth, as can be proved by a study of the books they have written. On some fundamental points the Shakers differ wholly from the Orthodox Church as has been seen, but they were fully capable of stating the reasons on which they based their faith both cleverly, ingeniously, and often persuasively. These men were also endowed with great executive ability and powers of organization. Elders Joseph Hammond and Joseph Myrick were conspicuous in this way, and it was with them especially that Bronson Alcott and Charles Lane and others among the transcendentalists at Fruitlands found congenial friendship and a goodly amount of mental inspiration. It was no small wonder that these men sought to converse with those who were so successfully solving the problem of a communistic life in direct contrast to their own endeavors; for though the experiment at Fruitlands was full of an ideal beauty of purpose, it

was proving itself to be faulty from the material standpoint, and the neat houses of the Shaker Village surrounded by close-trimmed grass plots, the successful industries, the well-filled granaries, and the general atmosphere of cheerfulness and prosperity could not fail to arouse a curiosity and a desire to penetrate the principles on which the Society was founded, and to learn the methods used to bring forth such admirable results.

Consequently Charles Lane and Bronson Alcott frequently left their "New Eden" on the slopes of Prospect Hill to pass a day with the Shaker Elders, and when they returned to the old farm at nightfall they discussed at length all that they had seen and heard. To Alcott Fruitlands was still the acme of all that could be desired, but as the autumn approached, Lane became more and more impressed by his conversations with the Shaker Elders.

Those who have read "Bronson Alcott's Fruitlands" will remember how Charles Lane began to influence Mr. Alcott with the idea of the advantages of joining the Shakers after it had become wholly evident that the experiment at Fruitlands must be abandoned; and how Mrs. Alcott, fearful of what new impulse might seize the philosophers, wrote hurriedly to her brother, Samuel May, to secure another home for them, in order to remove her husband from the danger of such suggestions.

When the Con-Sociate family at Fruitlands was broken up, and the philosophers had dispersed, saddened by the tragedy of failure, Charles Lane and his son William joined the Shakers.

Alcott wrote to his brother Junius from Still River on June 5, 1844: —

"We came here in April and propose remaining until autumn. Where I am to go next does not appear. Lane left me and joined the Shakers near by, where he now is, and Fruitlands our former place is in their care." [1]

The following entries are a few of a great number to be found in the Shaker journals showing how strongly attracted these transcendentalists were to this Society: —

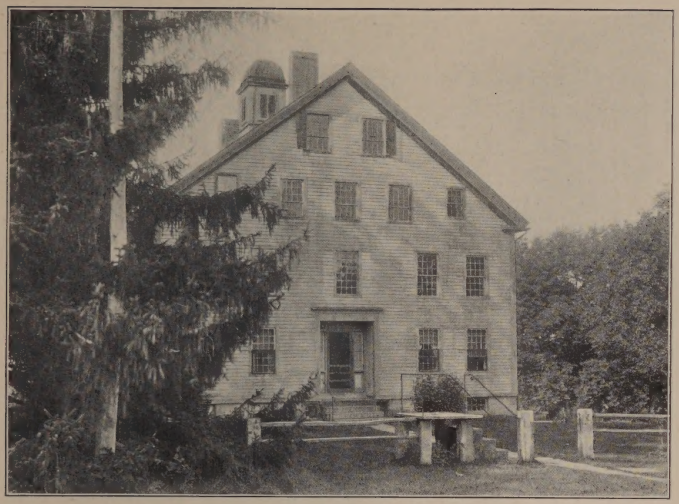
"Nov. 29, 1843. Lane the transcendentalist came here in company with a man from Boston who professes to have received light enough to take up his cross."

"Jan. 4, 1844. Charles Lane and his son came to the South Family yesterday. They have come to join our Society. They came here to-day to see about our taking the boy in this family.[2] The Elders conclude to take him. His name is William Lane. Born August 11, 1832, in the City of London, England."

Those who joined the Society could visit the different families; therefore, there are many mentions of Lane going to see his son. But it is evident that he took trips away at times and allowed himself the privilege of coming and going as he chose. The truth is he was in search

[1] They looked after it while Joseph Palmer was making his preparations to establish himself there permanently.

[2] The Church Family.



THE HOME OF THE SOUTH FAMILY OF SHAKERS
AT HARVARD, MASS.

THE SHAKER MEETING-HOUSE AT HARVARD, MASS.

of something which he never found, and he restlessly wandered from one community to another in his search for the ideal manner of living. It is, of course, inconceivable that he should ever have thought of abandoning the freedom of his philosophy for the restrictions of the Shaker religion, but what he sought there was the routine of a life of alternate action and meditation for which his soul yearned, and the Shakers seemed to allow him the right to act according to his own light. From the point of view of their own definitely outlined faith, they could not understand his attitude of mind, searching first here and then there for an ideal environment to harmonize with his strict, ascetic temperament. Even here, where a daily cross was taken up against the world and the flesh, he found too much thought given to supplying bodily needs. His theories, regarding the necessity of abstaining from all but the smallest measure of food that would sustain life, in no way coincided with those of the Shakers, who believed in building up a strong body in order to work the better for "the glory of God." His friendship with the Elders evidently made him a privileged person, which accounts for his coming and going as shown in the journals: —

"Jan. 18, 1844. Charles Lane and bearded Palmer and his son and a boy came here. All except his son stayed to dinner."

"March 18, 1844. William Lane went into the shoemaker's shop to work, and is to learn the trade; commenced to-day."

"March 20, 1844. Alcott and his wife and daughter here on a visit and take dinner."

"March 27, 1844. Charles Lane and Samuel Bowers [1] are here on a visit — they stay all day and read a letter recently received from England, and several others addressed to their friends there. Elder Joseph accompanied them on their visit."

"Friday, Dec. 27, 1844. Bronson Alcott, Charles Lane's associate in transcendentalism, came here from Concord, Massachusetts, on foot, in company with Edward Hosmer, with whom Alcott lives at the present time. They came to the South Family yesterday and visit here to-day in company with Charles Lane. Hosmer is much liked for his candor and intelligence. The above-named return to the South Family between three and four of the clock."

The following is a letter from Lane to Mrs. Alcott, which is of interest, as it is expressive of his attitude of mind while living with the Shakers: —

Charles Lane to Mrs. Alcott

"HARVARD, MASS., Feb. 22d, 1845.

"'If a judgment on self-experience is permitted, self-gratification has formed but a small item in the last ten years of my progress. But it is for that reason it has been progress and not mere existence. I am here for that pur-

[1] Samuel Bowers was one of the English mystics who had been of the Fruitlands Community.

pose. Not among people who imagine they are already saved, but who have arrived at consciousness of the necessity of doing something now and at once, day by day, in order that they may be saved. Were you to point out the position where I should be in conditions still more progressive, still more vital, still more loveful, my duty, my desire, my destiny would impel me to flee to it. The course you indicate is not so obviously onward that I instinctively perceive it. Backward I dare not go. Even to look backward, to think backward, is to be changed into a pillar of salt, — to be petrified into a piece of dead and contemptible history.

"I regret also to be understood as putting my mind thus with the idea that sublimer conditions are possible. I feel daily that there is such a possibility — so do my companions. I am making the best efforts I can to produce them — so are they. What this Society has been and is to me I cannot promise it would be to every one of an ideal temperament. Neither can I verbally reveal it. I shall not however have lived in vain for the great end if by my presence here through the needful trials and labors, I shall become a plank in the narrow way over which others shall hereafter find a smoother passage to temporal and eternal happiness. In any event I am making valuable practical experiences, psychological as well as physical. You will believe me when I say there is abundant opportunity here to help the human race, by example or exhortation. Self-denial, the great teaching process is permitted here to the greatest extent, not only permitted, but encouraged and extolled, and of course cannot fail, sooner or later, of its legitimate results. On

the whole then the missionary spirit is not void of hopeful employment in this sphere. I think nowhere is the twofold purpose in human life, of being good and doing good, so fully provided for. If I but imagined a better place I would instantly explore and test it."

It is evident, as the letter goes on, that, strange as it may seem, Mrs. Alcott was making a proposition, backed by Emerson, to start another community. Her husband's grief at the failure of "Fruitlands" was so intense, that with her usual unselfish devotion she was willing to make another sacrifice of herself and her children in order to enable him to make one more attempt to realize his altruistic dreams of a new Eden. But Charles Lane had suffered irreparable financial losses in the "Fruitlands" experiment and he evidently shrank from involving himself again in so disastrous a venture.

"If," he continues, "you have assumed that I must see your proposition is a progressive one for me, I may mention two, that I may call private items, which would have to be cleared up in my mind, in addition to those over which I ought to hesitate as well as any other proposed coöperative. Friend Emerson does not act, or profess to act, wholly on universal grounds. Earnest devotion and unquenchable hope do not suggest his offering. Unless I am wrong, it is an act of the purest individual friendship. The rest of the outward means I understand to be still more private and individualized. I apprehend this basis will vitiate and mar, if not en-

tirely neutralize, the good moral results that could not fail to arise in a building founded on the true rock. It is no worse than the old world, but it is far behind 'Fruitlands' or this work. My resolution would be to live in caves and log huts till we can build better dwellings, and far away from all beloved association rather than be entangled in modes which involve the very evils of which we seek to rid mankind. I know many errors still cling here, but not that fatal one of property involvements with the old world.

. . . . . .

"No one can at any time advance beyond his age without bearing as great 'a cross' as he is able to live under. Whoever does this is in the process of salvation. To rejoin your family would be far from crossing to my nature.

"Permit me to add that my sentiment regarding our onward duty towards building up the new world does not consist with the notion that we are to neglect our duties to the old world, or to abandon our human relations. On the contrary, I should say he who is fittest for the spiritual sphere has best accomplished his duty in the natural sphere even in the judgment of the natural world itself. We are not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, and fulfilling the law is the first step in the gospel. This is the feeling of the United Society as expressed in its earliest conditions, which I call the steps to the Temple, namely —

"1. Pay all your just debts.
"2. Right all your wrongs.
"3. Confess and forsake your sins.
"4. Give your hands to work.
"5. and your hearts to God.

. . . . . .

"With kindest regard to all around you I continue in peace thy friend,

"CHARLES LANE.

"William is quite well and 'jolly.' Elder Joseph has been ill ever since I returned. Yet he would be glad to see Mr. and Mrs. Hosmer as expected." [1]

A. Bronson Alcott to his brother Junius Alcott

"28th October, 1844.

"Lane is writing letters to England on Shakerism."

Letter from I. B. Howe to A. Bronson Alcott

"HAVERHILL, Oct. 16, 1844.

"How is Mr. Lane satisfied with the Shakers? They have done nobly. If they print and demonstrate their principles they would make a good peace army. I have thought more favorably of the Shakers lately than formerly. They have accomplished wonders. Do not they work too much and study too little? Are they willing to receive new ideas or 'revelations'?"

When in 1848 Charles Lane, who had returned to England, wrote to Mr. Alcott of his son's safe arrival on the ship Katherine at Liverpool, after a stay of four years with the Shakers, he makes this remark: "If the Shakers have deprived him of instruction, they have not diminished his desire for progress. God, nature, or organization has been too strong for them."

[1] Fruitlands Collection.

Extract from a letter to Mr. Alcott from Ednah D. Littlehale, written at Harvard on July 19, 1849

"There are those who are ever young because their time is full of eternity.

. . . . . .

"One night I left a party on Prospect Hill and wandered down over the pastures for a nearer view of Fruitlands. I had had poor and unworthy feelings and thoughts that day, and as I stood and looked upon the wild rocks and woods about the spot, I remembered that it had been the scene of a noble attempt whose failure even was blessed, and I could see you wandering beneath those trees, and I felt the strengthening influence which comes from your presence — that I cannot fall from a high ideal — that acceptance of a lower aim, of anything less than the absolutely true and good, is death. I have been quite interested in the Shakers since I have seen them. Their worship impressed me more than that of our ordinary churches, for it was earnest and sincere, and although its symbolism was poor and literal, yet there is a recognition in it of the symbolical nature of all outward life. They looked indeed like wild spectres as they marched around the room, but I found myself absorbed in watching individuals, — in trying to enter into their consciousness and to see as they did. How much is there worthy of reverence in every form of religion, when we have our own position, to look at it from the point of view of its believers. I have read since one of the Shaker books, and it seems to me they have some great ideas. The recognition of the Feminine element is

certainly important, and in unison with the growing sentiment of our times, and the Sacredness of labor is not less so. I felt neither contempt nor ridicule as I left them, — only a regret that any should be cut off from aught that is beautiful and rich in human life.

"EDNAH LITTLEHALE." [1]

[1] Ednah Littlehale was afterwards Mrs. Cheney, who wrote the *Life of Louisa M. Alcott.*

XXIX

HARVARD RECOLLECTIONS

LITTLE by little a change came over the Shakers after this. Whereas in previous years it was deemed a privilege to show the world the zeal and the enthusiasm with which they performed their acts of worship, a certain diffidence had now come over them — they shrank from ridicule and misunderstanding. The symbolism which meant so much to them was misinterpreted by onlookers. It seemed as if the zenith had been reached, had even been overreached, or as if they had pitched their note too high for possible sustaining, and the inevitable reaction now set in.

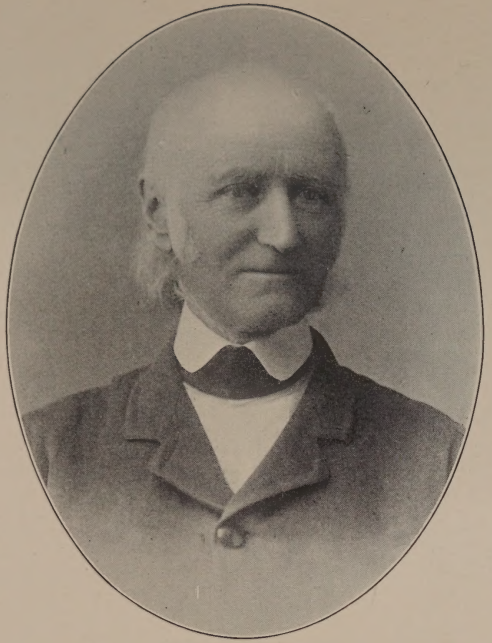
As long as Philemon Stewart lived he did his best to keep the fire of the spirit glowing at white heat, but as the years went on it could be plainly seen that what had been before had slipped into the past. A calm serenity now took the place of the old exuberant ecstasy — they then became a peaceful, quiet, orderly Society — full of industry — reputed for their honesty, and well beloved throughout the countryside. The world still went to watch them at their worship, but it was now a quiet march, with slightly waving hands, which kept time to the hymn. Undoubtedly when quite alone some old-time fervor might break forth in some of the older members; but as a rule a decorous sense pervaded, making all seem but a shadow of that strange ecstatic past. The

psychic wave which had so stirred the deep emotions had now run its length and passed beyond.

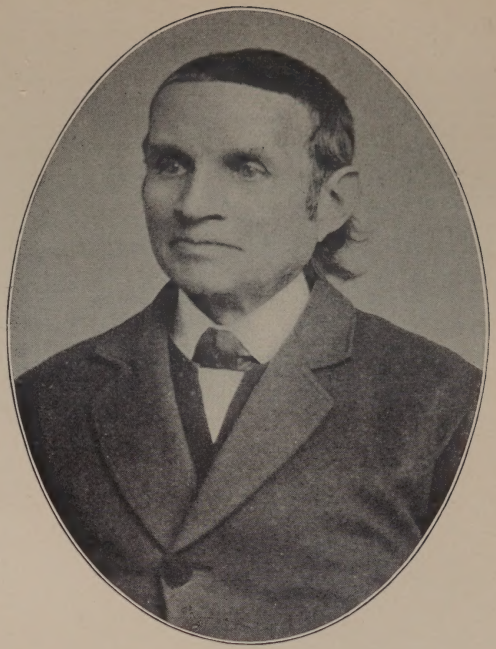
Brook Farm, and Fruitlands, and the Second Adventists, and all the centres where the spirit moved were silent; all had gone except the Shakers, and they, in peaceful quietude, retreated more and more from the world's inspection, leading still their busy and industrious lives, but now devoid of exaltation.

Some of the Elders of the "Fruitlands" days are still remembered, and now, when even the old Shaker Church is closed and the Holy Hill is overgrown and desolate because so few are left, the residents will tell of good old times when all the country folk would come from far and near to attend the Sunday meeting. And some will tell about Elijah Myrick and his wise invention of a chimney pot which sold throughout the land. Elijah had a bland and sympathetic face and was a well-loved Elder. The Harvard people voted him on the School Board, and one erstwhile teacher tells of how he annually visited the school in order to address the scholars, and they were to recite before him. But when he came, his address was very short and to the point: "What we want, my dear children, is *harmony* — above all things *harmony* — *harmony*"; and being seated he continued to murmur "*harmony*," and dropped into a quiet slumber, while the delighted children recited unmolested. This he did each year.

Then there was Elder Simon Atherton, a good wise man, astute as could be, who was a most successful financier and kept a watch over the investments of the Shakers, and sold the herbs and garden seeds throughout



ELDER ELIJAH MYRICK
Died February 9, 1890, aged 66 years



ELDER GILES AVERY, OF MT. LEBANON, N.Y.
Died 1890, aged 75 years. A constant visitor at Harvard and one of the most noted elders

the State; and of the Sisters Eldress Tabitha Babbitt, a clever, talented woman, and an inventor, too. The following account of her was compiled by a resident of Harvard: —

"One of the most talented women among the Shakers was Tabitha Babbitt. While watching the operations of making wrought nails, it occurred to her that they might be cut from a sheet of iron rolled to the right thickness. She told her idea to the smith; he tried it, and cut nails were the result. One day as she was spinning, she noticed the brethren sawing wood in the old-fashioned way; she observed that one half of the motion was lost, and so conceived the idea of a circular saw. She made a tin disc, notched it round the edge, slipped it on the spindle of her wheel, tried it on a piece of shingle, found it would cut, and gave to the world the buzz-saw. The first circular saw made under her instructions is on exhibition in the Geological Building at Albany, New York. She invented the double spinning-head our grandmothers loved so well. At the time of her death Tabitha Babbitt was inventing false teeth and had already made a set in wax."

But most of all they speak of Augustus Grosvenor and his untimely end. With bated breath they tell of how fine a man he was, and how many friends he had, and how he drew the plans and built the Rural House with forty rooms in it, and how one day the Shakers ceased to call him Elder, and he was forced to tend the swine as a rebuke, and desperate with humiliation his heart

stopped beating and he fell dead. Old Dr. McCollister, of Ayer, was called, and owing to the excited clamoring of his friends an autopsy was held, and behold! his heart was rent in two. His heart was put into a jar and taken to the druggist's shop at Ayer, and there his friends reviewed it year by year, and saw the rent fully three inches long that cleft it.

Now the truth of it was this: Elder Augustus Grosvenor was a rather remarkable man, handsome and fine-mannered.[1] His brother Lorenzo and his two sisters Fidelia and Roxalana were Harvard Shakers, and they all possessed a goodly measure of intelligence and no small amount of executive ability. Augustus, however, though thoroughly well meaning and a devout Shaker, unfortunately had no head for figures. So when he built the Rural Home, with forty rooms in it, he let his enthusiasm for seeing things done well get much the better of him and thus failed to count the cost. The result of this was a cruel blow to the Shakers. A debt of twenty-five thousand dollars confronted them. This they paid with the help of the Shakers at Shirley, but naturally they felt some apprehension for the future, and so released him (as they call it) from his position of Elder. If he cared for the swine it was no more than he had done in earlier years, or than others did by turns, and as for his heart, it was feeble, anyway, and liable to break. So say the Shakers.

But a most unhappy thing occurred. The drug store

[1] Augustus Grosvenor's father and mother, Ebenezer and Mary Grosvenor, joined the Shakers in 1819 with their four children. After being ardent Shakers for forty-six years Roxalana and Fidelia left the Society to study mesmerism in 1865.

AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR

Died Sept. 9, 1864, aged 57 years

suddenly changed hands, and the newcomer was a stranger who had never heard this tale, and in clearing away the rubbish Augustus Grosvenor's heart went with it — nobody knows where! His body lies in the old graveyard, but without a heart!

So ended the earthly career of Elder Augustus Grosvenor in 1864.

And other residents recall the time when two young Shakers found the call of life and love too much for them and so eloped to Ayer, and wedding bells rang out to greet them as a horse and wagon was seen coming at full speed down the Harvard road. Two friends had planned the escape and a clergyman stood ready to unite them. But there was no need to fear pursuit. The Shaker's life is one of voluntary submission. If any leave them and go out into the world they can never return, but they are left in peace to go their way.

The question is so often asked: — "How can a Society of brethren and sisters be made to lead a life of absolute aloofness from all that stirs the human heart through mutual attraction?" Ask any one who has ever lived near them and they will tell you that, however strange it seems to those outside, the Shakers are genuinely scrupulous to live up to the one great principle of their faith — and all who know them in the surrounding townships will bear witness to a full belief in their integrity. "A Shaker is a Shaker," they will tell you, and that sums up a life of work, of worship, and taking up a daily cross against the world and sin. If any fail in this they have to leave, and can never return again.

XXX

WHO WAS LEOLINE?

It is very evident to those who follow the subtle changes that occurred in the attitude of mind of the Shakers, that the Elders who in 1843 claimed widespread increase throughout the different families of the Society, both in members and in enthusiasm, foresaw with sadness a few years later an inevitable decline coming which they had no power to check. The reaction from excessive religious excitement to a distinct tendency to analysis and introspection, the advance in modern machinery which was supplanting hand labor, the growing use of concentrated foodstuffs, and the change in medicine from bulky doses of herb concoctions to tabloids, the innumerable factories being built to turn out thousands of spools, broom handles, and all the articles which formed the nucleus of the Shaker industries, which relied wholly upon hand labor, and a general turning away from the desire for community life which had been so prevalent before, — these oncoming conditions were even then to be seen, as specks upon the horizon, by the discerning. Toward the end of Elijah Myrick's life he saw these so clearly that, when they ceased to hold their meetings upon the Holy Hill, he, so it is thought, buried the Lord's Stone in some secret place, determined that no chance should be given to the vandals and the scoffers of the world to desecrate that which had been so precious and so sacred to the Shakers. And it began to come about that many joined

the Shakers now who sought their quiet village as a refuge, rather than from any compelling desire toward a life devoted to crucifying the flesh, and while these conformed in every way to the Shaker principles, their influence tended to modify much that before had been extreme. Unhappy wayfarers in the struggle of Life would seek repose among them, many of whom had education and cultivation to recommend them. The books of original poems belonging to this period, which were found with those of earlier date, — all of them outpourings from human hearts during hours of solitary meditation, — are completely different and on a different plane from those that preceded them.

One dear old book with verses in it was found hidden away, and long since forgotten. The picture of a red rose was pasted in the centre of the cover, and all the poems were signed "Leoline," — the pretty *nom-de-plume* of some sweet, long dead sister. These give a glimpse into the human, tender side of the Shaker that is very beautiful, and infinitely touching. Who was "Leoline?" No one can tell, because all clues of her have long since disappeared. "What led her to give up her youth," we ask, "and join the quiet Shakers?" The question can have no answer given it. We see the book, — we note the deep-red rose so carefully pasted on the cover, — and we try to picture Leoline writing in the safe seclusion of the Shaker Village.

The following poems and sonnets are carefully inscribed. The handwriting is long and slender. Refinement and charm emanate from the pathetic little book.

Sonnet — Love — Sept., 1874

How strong yet sweet the power of human love!
It vibrates through the heart when but one cord
Is touched, and all its sentiments accord
In one grand whole; the mind aspires above
The false, the paltry, base, impure, and grows
In consonance with God! The soul abhorred
Grows strangely fair, and in thy love, dear Lord,
Reflects the image of the snowy dove.
Ah! would that I like dew upon the rose
The perfume of that love draw forth; be blest
By fellow-man; enjoy a calm repose
From Sorrow's hand; a minister of rest
To weary hearts; till life's last eve shall close
And find thy toil and pain, O Love! redrest.

Leoline.

Life's Leaves

Emerald leaves in the Spring's young garden,
Tender and green,
Fairest flowers in their arms enfolding
As e'er were seen,
Fluttering down at our feet in summer
From fruited trees —
Crimson and brown they flood in autumn
The passing breeze —
Falling and rising, and falling again —
Remaining so —
Sleeping in quiet and rest all winter
Beneath the snow,
Teaching us how in our changing ways
At last there are quiet and peaceful days.

Many leaves that are pressed as keepsakes
Of long ago —
Laid away 'mong the precious treasures
We value so —
Given to us from the doorway rosebush
By some dear friend —
Kept as the types of love and friendship
That never end,
Plucked, it may be, from off the violets
Above the bed,

IS THIS "LEOLINE"?

The portrait was found in an old cupboard. Name unknown

Where in their dreamless sleep are lying
Our darling dead —
Giving us all through our changing ways
Sweet momentoes of peaceful days.

Blotted leaves on our record tablet
All stained with tears —
Showing us where we missed our lesson
Along the years —
Pointing with golden index fingers
At those well learned —
Telling us truly what we cherished
And what we spurned —
Holding for us in sacred keeping
The trusts we gave,
Writing, just as we live, the story
From crib to grave —
Teaching us where in our changing ways
There have been, and might have been, peaceful days.

Other leaves that are best and fairest
Though never grown —
Golden leaves that have a meaning
To us alone —
Wrapped up with care and laid away
And kept and kept —
We know not why — perhaps the giver
So long hath slept
We do not miss them, and still their memory
Is precious yet —
Sacred and holy we cannot lose it,
Cannot forget —
But keep the lesson through changing ways —
There were, are, and will be peaceful days.

Leoline.

April 8, 1879.

Sonnet

If I should send a ship to sea to-night
Full freighted with rich stores of uncoined gold,
And bound for India's clime or Iceland's cold —
With floating pennons waving fair and bright —
But with no rudder at the helm to guide —

No white sails waiting to unfurl and fold —
No massive anchor my brave ship to hold —
How could I hopeful be and with heart light
Expect in safety she would reach the other side?
My young heart is a vessel launched abroad
Filled with ambitions, with high hopes and pride —
But without friends, its voyage is a fraud —
True friends to lead, those whom the sea hath tried,
Firm friends, to hold it in the port of God!

Leoline.

Oct., 1880.

Sonnet

To Lucy J——

Before me lies a well-worn fan of thine —
I see the wrinkled hand that held it now,
I see the dim blue eyes, the furrowed brow,
And round thee, as of old, my arms would twine;
Why hast thou left me here? I would not call
Thee back to me, I would not see thee bow
Again beneath thy pain. I wish that thou
Had'st taken me with thee; the sun may shine,
The Summer bring her flowers, the snowy pall
Of Winter spread thy bed, — thy sun has set, —
Thy flowers are bound in Love's fair wreath; the Fall
And Winter of thy life is past, and yet
I hear thy voice, I see thy smile, in all.
My heart breathes peace — Love nevermore forgets.

Leoline.

Daisies

Dotting the meadows all over,
  Playing Bo-peep with the clover,
Bowing and nodding above the green grass,
Kissing the hem of the garments that pass,
    Daisies, daisies, beautiful things, —
Are ye not angels on flutt'ring wings?

Say, what in the world do you think
  When the saucy black bobolink
Singing himself out of breath, has to pause

. . . . . .

And here the verses come to a sudden ending — unfinished.

The remaining pages of the little book look strangely blank. Time is yellowing them.

We close it gently, and put it tenderly away.

CONCLUSION

ELDRESS JOSEPHINE GILSON IN 1916

CONCLUSION

THE manuscripts, the records and journals, are gathered up now with a lingering regret. Their time-worn faded pages seem like the faces of dear old friends. As the last book is closed, the silence is broken by the high, thin quavering tones of two sweet old Shaker voices, singing in unison in the family living-room at the end of the hall: —

"How pleasant the streams as they flow from the fountain
On this Holy Mount of the Lord,
Encircling thy borders, O beautiful Mountain,
Stand hosts of bright Angels of God.
No wonder the earth with the heavens is blended,
The forests with music resound,
For lo! on this Mount hath Jehovah descended
And sheds His bright glory around!

"From this chosen spot with divine inspiration
The Most High shall utter His voice —
Proclaiming His laws to all kindred and nations
And causing the meek to rejoice —
O Lord, we will praise and forever adore Thee,
For righteous and holy art Thou —
On this Holy Mount we will worship before Thee
And round Thy pure altar we'll bow."

I glance enquiringly at the Eldress —

"It's the hymn of the Holy Fountain," she says; "they often sing it when they sit together — remembering."

FINIS

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE BURYING-GROUND

JEREMIAH WILLARD gave about an acre of land to the Church and Society of Christians in Harvard called Shakers for the possession of a burying-place in 1792.

The Church and Society by mutual agreement began to fence it with stone wall. The work was done by the following persons: —

Aaron Jewett	Levi Warner
Hosea Edson	Jonathan Crouch
Seth Babbitt	Ebenezer Lyon
Oliver Burt	Isaac Cooper
Caleb Couch	Elijah Warner
Abiather Eddy	Samuel Cooper
Henry Godding	David Dunnel
Ezra Lathe	Solomon Cooper
Aaron Williams	Jonathan Bridges
Simon Cooper	Solomon Frizzle
Abel Jewett, Jr.	Aaron Jewett, Jr.
Joseph Frost	Jeremiah Willard
Bezaliel Edson	

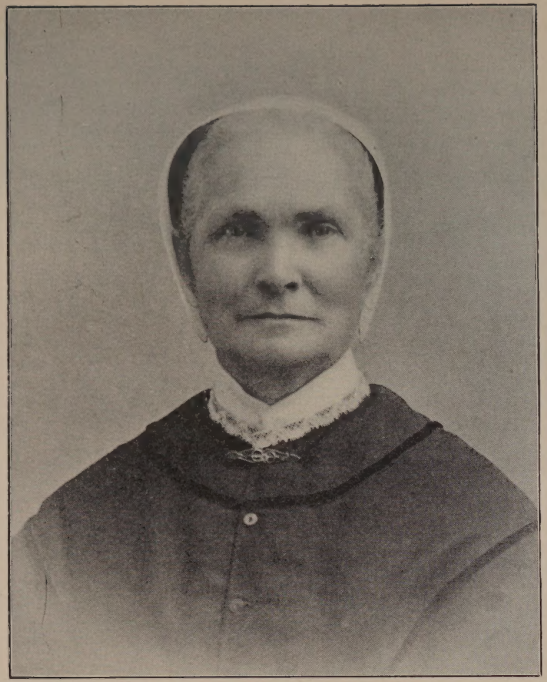
The above fence was eight days a-building. There were four yoke of oxen employed every day it was doing. The gate was made and set up by Hosea Edson: the hinges, latch, etc., by Daniel Jewett and Oliver Roberson.

Paid Jeremiah Willard for the above piece of land $13.12.

NAMES IN BURYING-GROUND OF THOSE LIVING FROM 70 UPWARD

	Age	*Date of Death*
Ezra Newton	101	1896
Olive Hatch	100	1908
Philip J. Mayer	99	1898

	Age	*Date of Death*
Abigail Worcester	98	1811
Hosea Edson	96	1829
Relief Edson	96	1866
Susanna M. Gooden	95	1795
Maria M. Wood	95	1914
Hannah Bridges	94	1875
Samuel Blood	94	1844
Henry Gooden	94	1830
Sarah Kendall	93	1852
Desire Chandler	92	1865
Sarah Dodge	92	1841
Molly Lyon	92	1843
Sarah Cooper	92	1807
Deborah Prentice	91	1811
Ruth Stearns	91	1822
Mary Chandler	91	1855
Elizabeth Sears	91	1890
Deborah Dunham	90	1854
Abiather Babbitt	90	1806
Abel Jewett	90	1806
Charlotte Preist	90	1892
Louisa E. Green	90	1914
Nathan Kendall	90	1845
Elizabeth Dunham	90	1854
Lucy McIntosh	90	1872
Jemima Blanchard	89	1847
Abigail Blanchard	89	1844
Thomas Hammond	89	1880
Mary Robbins	89	1889
Eunice Balthrick	89	1883
Abigail Babbitt	89	1813
Elizabeth Phinney	89	1813
Mary Crouch	89	1814
Anna Babbitt	88	1861
Matilda S. Persons	88	1890
Sarah Sargent	88	1876
Phebe Keep	88	1826
Maria Babbitt	87	1871
Hannah Babbitt	86	1852



ELDRESS LOUISA GREEN
Died 1914, aged 90 years

ELDRESS ELLEN GREEN
Died 1915, aged 71 years

	Age	*Date of Death*
Deliverance Cooper	86	1840
Moses Crouch	86	1807
Rebecca Robins	86	1834
Lydia Winchester	86	1820
John Perry	86	1819
Luke Fosgate	86	1873
Simon T. Atherton	85	1888
Susanna Giddings	85	1887
Joseph Wyeth	85	1837
Elizabeth Fletcher	84	1839
Sarah Hammond	84	1848
Betty Babbitt	84	1865
Stephen McKnight	84	1914
Seth Blanchard	84	1868
Bethiah Prescott	84	1813
Eunice Wildes	83	1855
Sarah Crouch	83	1833
Hannah M. Hall	83	1864
Lucy Hammond	83	1881
Mary Perry	83	1821
Elizabeth Jewett	82	1838
Beulah Cooper	82	1837
Roxalana Hill	82	1871
Abel Jewett	82	1859
Grove B. Blanchard	82	1880
Elizabeth D. Raymond	82	1867
Joseph Mayo	81	1852
Anna Lathe	81	1832
Mercy Clark	81	1825
Olive Blanchard	81	1868
Elizabeth Winchester	81	1811
Mary Chandler	79	1885
Mary Hammond	79	1824
Silas Robbins	79	1825
Anna Mayo	79	1855
Abigail Osgood	78	1866
Caroline L. Kingage	78	1878
Phebe Lyscom	78	1838
Hannah Eddy	78	1828

	Age	*Date of Death*
Patience Crouch	77	1843
Mary Grosvenor	77	1862
Katherine Hall	77	1890
Silas Temple	77	1852
John Warner	76	1834
Jonathan Chandler	76	1852
Ebenezer Grosvenor	76	1854
Isaac Rich	76	1866
Xzena Robbins	76	1826
Mercy Dring	76	1881
Marcia M. Bullard	76	1899
Ezra Turner	76	1815
Aaron Jewett	75	1816
Jonathan Bridges	75	1833
Sarah Kendall	75	1882
Sarah Whitney	75	1880
Rachel Wood	75	1810
Tabitha Babbitt	74	1858
William Whiskins	74	1874
Bethiah Willard	74	1832
Delighteth Dodge	71	1826
Ellen Green	71	1915
Abiather Eddy	70	1816
Obediah Rich	70	1870
Bathsheba Winchester	66	1841
Mehitable Crouch	41	1821
Brazilla Alden	21	1810
Mehitable Grace	55	1811

These last are recorded on account of their quaint, old-fashioned names.

There are 310 graves: 136 died under 70; 174 over 70.

THE SHAKER BURYING GROUND AT HARVARD, MASS.

THE SQUARE HOUSE

"THE persons whose names are here paid the sums set against their names, towards paying for the Square House farm in Harvard."

		£	s.	d.
$144.17	— Mother Ann	43	5	0
10.	— Amasa Turner	3	0	0
2.	— Jonathan Clark	0	12	0
9.	— Phinehas Eames	2	14	0
18.87	— Zaccheus Stevens	5	13	4
5.56	— Aaron Williams	1	13	4
2.	— Xzena Robbins	0	12	0
2.22	— Ruth Robbins	0	13	4
1.	— Sarah Robbins Sen.	0	06	0
20.	— Jonathan Wetherbee	6	0	0
2.50	— David Melvin	0	15	0
55.24	— Hannah Wait	13	11	5
8.83	— Susanna Willard	2	13	0
11.00	— Jonathan Wood	3	06	0
13.11	— Peter Ayers and John Spires	3	18	8
5.00	— Sarah Whittemore	1	10	0
2.23	— Benjamin Ellis	0	13	4
1.98	— Robert Kinnicom	0	11	11
4.67	— Elizer Goodrich	1	08	0
6.67	— Daniel Wrathburn	2	00	0
1.11	— Asa Bacon	0	06	8
2.00	— Jonathan Kinney	0	12	0
40.00	— Ethan Phillips	12	07	0
4.49	— Ivory Wildes	1	09	8
1.00	— Jonathan Slosson	0	06	0
1.00	— David Clark	0	06	0
1.67	— Joseph Jewett	0	10	0
15.67	— Samuel Whittemore	4	14	0
165.86	— Amos Hammond and sundry other persons, a part of which was in cattle	49	15	2
19.58	— Tabitha Green	05	17	6
$568.48		161	0	4[1]

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

"In 1805 — or 6 — the Square House was fixed up. They hired two hands, Josiah and Asa Wetherbee, who new shingled the roof and clapboarded the body of the house. They took away the little porch that was there on the north side and put a new porch on there with one roof slanting to the north." [1]

"In 1845 the Square House had a new roof put on and slated — a new porch. The chimneys taken down and rebuilt and considerable done to the inside of the building." [2]

"March 20, 1846. The brethren move the old porch at the Square House down by the barn where they calculate to fix it up for the milk convenience." [3]

PRODUCE RAISED IN THE CHURCH FAMILY

In 1840: —

260 bushels of corn, 700 do potatoes, 1000 rutabaga, 18 do beans, 6 do peas, 300 do rye, 800 lbs. sweet squash, 10 loads pumpkins, 5000 lbs. pork, 4000 lbs. beef, 1800 lbs. cheese, 739 lbs. butter, 119 bushels oats, 40 do barley.

In 1841: —

3 bushels wheat, 454 bushels rye, 187 do oats, 35 do barley, 140 do corn, 40 do beans, 800 do potatoes, 100 rutabaga, 2000 lbs. cheese, 800 lbs. butter, 5400 lbs. pork, 4500 lbs. beef.

In 1842: —

2500 lbs. cheese, 1170 lbs. butter, 130 bushels of corn, 1000 bushels of potatoes, 280 do oats, pork? — beef?

In 1844: —

Corn	175	bushels
Oats	175	"
Wheat	50	"
Beans	35½	"
Potatoes	860	"
Rye	90	"
Butter	1179	lbs.
Cheese	3416	"
Pumpkins	34	loads
Pork	3600	lbs.
Herbs raised and gathered	4406	lbs.

This was from the Church Family alone. The South Family and North Family accounts not included.

---

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

ELDRESS ANNIE WALKER
Died 1913

SISTER ANNIE BELL TUTTLE

THE MEETING HOUSE RAISED

In 1797 Sarah Keep sold her house and land and brought in the product, £50.

Oliver Roberson brought fourteen shillings and a yearling colt.

Deliverance Cooper brought cloth amounting to £1.5.6.

Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary, and Patience Crouch brought twenty-four yards of check cloth and Sarah brought sundry other things, all amounting to £1.8.0.

Phebe Keep brought one shilling and sixpence.

Deborah Jewett brought three sheep and ten dollars.

Solomon Frizzle one hundred and twenty-seven pounds of cheese.

Mehitable Grace, one pound of chocolate.

Oliver Adams paid for painting of the meeting-house £37.73 as a gift to the Society.

May 19, 1798. Raised the barn by the store.[1]

THE SHAKERS

Extract from a letter written by request from a resident of Harvard who was brought up by the Shakers: —

"Now, regarding the Shakers: I hear so many ideas expressed regarding Shaker customs that are not at all in keeping with the actual conditions that sometimes I almost decide to write a book about these people myself. Some one wrote a book, 'A Shaker Wooing.' I think it was W. D. Howells — absolutely devoid of Shakerism. It was the idea any one visiting there for a few days would gather from personal observation. But to know the Shakers one must live and be one of them.

"Now the family head of the Shakers consisted of one Elder and two Eldresses. They were the ministerial body. They were the spiritual advisers, leaders in church worship and were the final word in all matters relating to the family affairs. The Shaker villages are always referred to as the 'families.' The

[1] Unpublished Harvard Shaker Records.

Church, or Centre Family; the South Family, etc.; the Trustees of the Society, and this body usually included the Church Ministry — that is, the family head before mentioned — and others, generally the family Elders and Eldresses. The members of this body were the business managers for the Society: bought and sold land, horses, cattle, supplies — invested the funds, etc.

"Regarding the work: Elders and Eldresses were generally older men and women and with their official duties found little time for manual labor, although they did work when occasion required. In the summer time the breakfast was served at 6 A.M.; dinner at 12; and supper at 6 P.M. There was no variation from these hours. During the shorter days in the winter, breakfast was served at 6.30 and supper at 5.30.

"The family all sat in one dining-room for meals. The brethren at one long table and the sisters at another. Elders sat at the head of the brothers' table and Eldresses at the head of the sisters' table, next highest in rank or age sat next and so down the long table, the boys and girls at the foot of their respective tables. Same with Sunday worship. The brothers stood on the east side and the sisters on the west side in rows or ranks. Elders at the head of the line and the boys at the foot. During their march songs they marched in twos, in a large circle around the hall during the singing — the Elders leading the men and the Eldresses the women. Some of the older ones too feeble to march sat around the meeting-room.

"Their sleeping-apartments were in the same building, but the brothers' rooms were at one side of the house and the sisters, at the other side. Separate stairways were made for the use of each sex.

"This diagram may help you: —

"1. Elder — the spiritual head and head of all affairs.

"2. Eldresses — relating to the family life.

"1st and 2nd Elder, 1st and 2nd Eldress — next in power and direct supervisors of the details of family life, work, etc.

"Five Trustees — financial and business managers."

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE . MASSACHUSETTS
U . S . A

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 10046 988 9

Gleanin
from
Old Sha
Journa

Sear

$1.25 ne

HOUGHT
MIFFLIN